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PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

HISTORICAL SERIES, No. XI.

A Biography of Thomas Deacon

SHERRATT & HUGHES
Publishers to the Victoria University of Manchester
Manchester : 34 Cross Street
London: 33 Soho Square, W.

Agents for the United States
LONGMANS, GREEN & Co.
443-449 Fourth Avenue, New York



THOMAS DEACON.

A Biography
OF
THOMAS DEACON

The Manchester Non-Juror

BY
HENRY BROXAP, M.A.

MANCHESTER
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
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UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER PUBLICATIONS
No. LIX.

JOHN

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To
MY FATHER AND MOTHER

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PREFACE.

THE subject of the Non-jurors, their principles, their writings, and their complete disappearance as a separate ecclesiastical organisation will probably be regarded by the great majority of people as of little more than antiquarian interest. The point of view from which the movement may be regarded will indeed vary in accordance with the prepossessions under the influences of which we approach the consideration of the subject. We may approve the sentiments of Dr. Johnson¹ who, Tory as he was, had no kind things to say of the non-jurors, and indeed, "never knew a non-juror who could reason." We may possibly sympathize with Macaulay² in his statement that "the non-jurors sacrificed both liberty and order to a superstition as stupid and degrading as the Egyptian worship of cats and onions." And if the unusual conjunction in the literary firmament of the two Whig and Tory luminaries leaves any possibility of further choice we may perhaps adopt the standpoint of Professor J. E. B. Mayor in his introduction to "The Life of Ambrose Bonwicke."³ 'Perhaps the time has come when we may venture without offence or loss of intellectual caste to challenge the vulgar verdict upon the non-jurors, and at least call on their censors to name any English sect so eminent, in proportion to its numbers, alike for solid learning and for public as well as private virtues.' Whether we adopt any of these varying points of view, or any modification of them, there will still remain in many minds the conviction that the subject has

1. Boswell's "Johnson," June 9th, 1784, in conversation at Pembroke College.

2. "History of England," Chapter 14.

3. "Life of Ambrose Bonwicke," by his father; edited, in 1870, by Professor J. E. B. Mayor, with "introduction to the reader," quoted by Overton.

received sufficient attention and may be left to oblivion. It is indeed a matter of surprise to find that the appellation of non-juror conveys no idea whatever to so many fairly well-educated people. Millions of devout people have sung Bishop Ken's Morning and Evening Hymns and a smaller number have found delight and stimulus in Law's "Serious Call," but it would be interesting to know what proportion had ever heard of the non-juring movement, or that Ken and Law are to be accounted two of the most saintly figures in the history of the non-jurors. I do not of course forget that Ken and Law were non-jurors of a very different stamp from such men as Hickes, Collier or Brett, and still more so from the man whose life is to be related in these pages, yet it remains true to say that they were among that "high-minded group who could not stretch passive obedience to cover a transfer of allegiance."¹

If we come nearer home it certainly would not occur to the Manchester man of the 20th century that his city was likely to have been noted for obstinate adherence to lost causes, and yet it may be well to remember that less than 200 years ago Manchester was the most Tory and Jacobite town in England. The number of those who pass daily by the tombstone at the north-east corner of St. Ann's Churchyard may probably be calculated to a fair degree of accuracy; but it would be a much more difficult task to express the infinitesimal proportion of the passers-by who pause and read the memorial to the "greatest of sinners and most unworthy of primitive bishops," who lies buried under the very pavement trodden daily by so many busy feet.²

There is only one argument to be pleaded in justification of yet another attempt at relating this curious and half forgotten phase in the religious history of England,

1. "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. vi., "The 18th Century," p. 808.

2. Deacon's tombstone is not, since the alterations in St. Ann's Churchyard, directly over the place of interment, which is actually under the pavement in St. Ann's Street.

and that is to be found in the short passage which has already been quoted from Professor Mayor's "Introduction to the Reader" in his edition of the Life of Bonwicke. It is a simple statement of fact to say "that in proportion to its numbers no English sect has been so eminent alike for solid learning and for public as well as private virtues." It is the hope of the present writer to be able to prove that all that has been said of the non-jurors as a body may be specially applicable to Thomas Deacon as an individual member of the movement, and, in its later stages, one of the most conspicuous figures. It will be seen that Deacon, out of communion with Church and State alike, lived in close friendship with men high in the ecclesiastical and civil sphere, and exercised his full share of influence over the whole life of the town of Manchester. It would be strange indeed if nothing of interest could be written in the life of a man who was closely associated with both the '15 and '45: who lived on terms of great intimacy with the first medical men of the day, and was himself a practitioner of no mean order: who enjoyed the friendship of John Byrom and William Law: who actively engaged, and certainly not without knowledge, in the controversy concerning the 'Usages' and who may be said, in a word, to embody in his own person the latest developments of the non-juring movement.

I have reason to believe that I shall be able to submit some important facts, which have not previously been recorded, with regard to Deacon's birth and parentage. I hope also to throw some new light on various periods of the movement as a result of a careful examination of the Deacon MSS. now in the library at Chetham College. Many facts of Deacon's life which are already known and have been related by previous writers will, I hope, be brought into new relations to each other, and on the whole a biography of Thomas Deacon is here related in a more complete form than has heretofore appeared.

It is not a very simple matter to decide as to the arrangement of a book on a subject such as this, and after considerable deliberation I have decided to arrange the work in the following manner. The events of Deacon's life down to the year 1720 will be related in chronological order. The years 1720 to 1745, for information as to which we are indebted almost entirely to "John Byrom's Private Journal and Literary Remains," will be treated on a different basis, designed with the purpose of showing Deacon's relations in various aspects of life. After the '45 it will be found more convenient to resume the chronological order of events, but the sources of information during this period are of a very complicated character. The controversy of 1746-8, which culminated in the publication of "Manchester Vindicated" in 1749, is not easy to disentangle, but we are indebted to the writers in this controversy for a considerable amount of information concerning Thomas Deacon's earlier as well as later life. I have thought it well to prepare a special appendix in which I have quoted from these writers, at some length, various passages which are of interest to our subject. The advantage of this course will be that a more homogeneous story can be related in the text, which would otherwise be over-burdened by quotations in which the events of the '15 and the '45 are described in a confused manner.

One word still remains to be said; it is no part of the writer's purpose to attack or to defend Deacon's theological position. That position is not very easy to understand, and reason will be given for believing that it has not infrequently been misunderstood. It is the aim of the writer to make clear what manner of man Thomas Deacon was, and although approval or criticism may be here and there expressed, it is not intended in these pages to adopt any other attitude than that of painstaking historical research.

PREFACE

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My thanks are due to the Reverend Alexander Gordon, Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History to the University of Manchester, at whose suggestion my task was first undertaken, and from whom I have received valuable advice and assistance throughout the period in which the work has been in preparation. I am also indebted to Mr. C. W. Sutton of the Manchester Free Reference Library for suggestions kindly made to me as to additional information with regard to the Rebellion of the '45 so far as it concerned Manchester, and especially for the prompt communication made to me of the discovery of the original record of the ordination by Deacon¹ of Thomas Podmore in 1748; and to Professor T. F. Tout for his supervision of the preparation of the work for the press.

HENRY BROXAP.

CLIFF POINT,
LOWER BROUGHTON ROAD,
MANCHESTER.

1st *March*, 1911.

1. See page 157.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES ON WHICH THIS WORK IS BASED.

THE fact that no complete biography of Thomas Deacon has previously been written may be regarded on the whole as of advantage to the present writer, although the task is not thereby rendered any less difficult. The excellent article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, by the late Mr. Thompson Cooper, and the pamphlet written by Mr. C. W. Sutton entitled "The Writings of 'Doctor' Thomas Deacon" (printed privately in 1879) furnish a mass of information, of which the present work is from certain points of view merely a development.

The one great authority for the facts of the life of Deacon is undoubtedly the *Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byrom* edited for the Chetham Society by Canon R. Parkinson 1853-8 (old series Nos. 32, 34, 40, 42). Other publications of the C. S. to which I am indebted are *Lancashire Memorials of the Rebellion of 1715* by Dr. Hibbert-Ware, 1844 (old series No. 5), and *Collectanea relating to Manchester, &c.*, by John Harland, 1866-7 (old series Nos. 68 and 72); *Rectors of Manchester and Wardens of the Collegiate Church*; Reverend Canon Raines, edited by J. E. Bailey, 1891 (new series Nos. 5 and 6); *Lives of the Fellows of the College of Manchester*, by the same author, edited by Frank Renaud, M.D., 1891 (new series Nos. 21 and 23); and the *Poems of John Byrom*, edited by Dr. A. W. Ward, 1894-5 (new series Nos. 29, 30, 34, 35), the last of which is of the greatest value not only for the information with which the notes abound, but also for the beautiful appreciation of the character of John Byrom which is contained in the Introduction.

The following works have been found helpful as to the condition of Manchester in the period under review.

"Manchester 100 years ago," being a Reprint of a description of Manchester by a native of the town, James Ogden; published in 1783, edited, with an introduction by W. E. A. Axon, in 1887.

Aston's "Manchester Guide" for 1804.

"Foundations in Manchester," by Dr. Hibbert-Ware (1828-30). No student of matters concerning Manchester can afford to disregard Dr. Hibbert-Ware's great work, but I doubt whether Deacon was thoroughly understood by this writer. I have given reasons for this in my estimate of Deacon's Life and Work.

W. E. A. Axon's "Annals of Manchester," 1886.

"The Palatine Notebook," edited by J. E. Bailey, 1881-2.

"Memorials of St. Ann's, Manchester"; C. W. Bardsley, 1887.

With regard to the general history of the non-juring movement, Canon Overton's "History of the Non-jurors" (1902) easily holds the first place, but the earlier work of Thomas Lathbury, published in 1845, should not by any means be neglected.

The authorities which deal with the particular subject of this memoir are fairly numerous, and for the most part may be consulted in Manchester. Information as to Deacon's birth was, however, only to be found by the collation of the Last Will and Testament of Captain William Deacon in the Principal Probate Registry at Somerset House, the copy of the Last Will and Testament of Bishop Hicke at Sion College, and the Baptismal Registers of St. Dunstan's Church, Stepney. The Deacon MSS. in the Chetham Library at Manchester, of which I have given a full account in the text, are of considerable value, and so far as I have been able to ascertain have not been called into requisition by any

previous writer; the same remarks will apply to the copy of MSS. now in the Library of the Scottish Episcopal Church and presented to the Chetham Library in 1862 by the Reverend W. Bell.

If Dr. Johnson's *dictum* be accepted that the biography of an author is in the history of his writings there is abundant information as to Thomas Deacon to be found in his published works. I have endeavoured to make a review of his writings a special feature of this work. Copies of all the works are to be found in the Library of the British Museum and also in Manchester, with the exception that no copy of the Translation of Tillemont's "History of the Arians" appears to have found its way to the latter City.

The following works were found to be of great assistance in forming an estimate of the "Usages" controversy.

Collier's "Reasons for restoring certain Primitive Usages, etc.," 1717.

Spinckes' "No Reason for restoring, etc.," 1717.

Collier's "Defence of the Reasons," 1718.

Deacon's "Plaintiff's charge disproved and turned upon himself by the Defendant" (in a letter to Spinckes), 1719.

Spinckes' "The New separation groundless," 1719.

Earbery's "Dialogue between Timothy a Churchman, and Thomas an Essentialist," 1719.

Spinckes' "No just grounds for introducing the New Communion Office," 1720.

Brett's "Reply to above," 1720.

Spinckes' "Reply to the Vindication," 1720.

Collier's "Further Defence," 1720.

Leslie's "Letter concerning the new separation," 1720.

This list may be found of assistance to the reader in the perusal of Chapter III., which deals with the question of the "Usages."

These were published for the most part in pamphlet form but Brett's "Collection of the Principal Liturgies, etc.," (1720), and Campbell's "Middle State" (1713) are works of considerable size and of the greatest erudition. I may mention under this connection the late Bishop Dowden's Annotated Prayer Book of the Scottish Episcopal Church (1884), and the Translation of the Liturgies of SS. Mark, James, Clement, Chrysostom, and Basil (Neale and Littledale, London, 1869); and the Reverend P. Hall's *Fragmenta Liturgica*, Bath, 1848.

I have found also some results from the diligent study of Notes and Queries, especially concerning the later history of the Non-jurors, but, naturally, the information varies considerably in point of value.

With regard to what may be described as the political side of the subject, the following list may be given.

Patten's "History of the late Rebellion" (1715), London, 1717.

Ray's "Compleat History of the Rebellion" (1745), Manchester, 1746.

The MSS. of Lord Kenyon, London, 1894 (Historical Manuscript's Commission 14th Report, Appendix Part IV.).

Historical Papers relating to the Jacobite period, 1699—1750, edited by Colonel James Allardyce, LL.D., Vol. 2: Aberdeen, printed for the New Spalding Club, 1896. The introduction is taken mainly from the notes of Mr. D. Murray Rose. Papers 30 to 45 contain depositions at the trial of the Jacobites which are abbreviated from the papers of Sir John Strange among the Egerton MSS. in the British Museum (No. 2,000). Sir John Strange was one of the Counsel for the King at the trial of the Jacobite prisoners in July, 1746.

What may be described as the "Aftermath" of the

Rebellion of '45, so far as Manchester was concerned, may be studied in the following :—

“ Manchester Vindicated,” Chester, 1749.

Josiah Owen : “Letter to the Master Tool,” etc., “Dr. Deacon, try'd,” 1748.

T. Perceval : “Letter to the Clergy,” “Manchester Politics.” 1748.

Last of all I may mention a MS. Catalogue of the Library of the Reverend John Clayton in his own handwriting. I have made some reference to this on pages 96 and 185. The Catalogue alone remains, but it possesses a certain value and interest. It is in the possession of the Free Reference Library of the City of Manchester.

NOTE.

During the progress of the work through the press, the attention of the writer was accidentally directed to the fact that letters from Deacon to Thomas Hearne are to be found in the Bodleian Library. The letters were written from the years 1715-21 and contain much interesting information. Many of these letters are briefly summarized in the "Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne" (Oxford Historical Society, edited by C. E. Doble, M.A., and D. W. Rannie, M.A.). Eight volumes have been published up to the present time and the date reached is 1725. Considerable information as to the non-juring movement is to be found in these volumes and not a little as to Deacon in particular, and it may be well to submit certain additional facts as supplementary to the story related in the text.

First of all there is no doubt that Cecilia Deacon's second husband (see page 15) was no other than Jeremy Collier himself. The following is the entry in Hearne's Diary under date May 4, 1725 ("Remarks, &c., of Thomas Hearne," vol. viii, p. 364) :—

"Mr. Russell told me that Mr. Jeremy Collier is very poor in his old age, having married an odd Wife, mother of Mr. Thomas Deacon, which Mr. Thomas Deacon from following Divinity now practises Physick, being a Non-juror and Author of several things."

Further, a search in the Bodleian Library revealed a MS. entry, under the name of Deacon, in the Collection of Oxford Authors to be found among the Rawlinson MSS. :—

"Oxon, educat. a Sam Parker deinde medicinæ studium se adhibuit apud Manchester inter Brigantes inde hortatu clarissimi Mead Londinium se accingit and et paulo post ad Mancunium revertit."

This entry shows signs of having been corrected on several occasions, but I believe the above rendering is correct. Leaving for a moment the latter part of the memorandum, the interesting fact is revealed that Deacon was educated at Oxford by Samuel Parker and this is confirmed by the earliest letter written by Deacon to Hearne on 28th June, 1715. "I do not know whether you remember me by my name but I had the Honour to be acquainted with you a little when I was at Oxford at

Mr. Parker's above three years ago, and I have now lived with Dean Hicke above these two years." The reader may compare these statements with the conjectures made on pages 16 and 17 of this work.

Samuel Parker was son of Parker, Bishop of Oxford, who was notorious for his connection with the schemes of James II. Whatever may be said of the father, the son was an admirable scholar and maintained an academy at Oxford, concerning which a question was on one occasion asked in the House of Commons ("Remarks, &c., of Thomas Hearne," vol. i, p. 132). Parker was intimately associated with the non-juring leaders and it was probably owing to the kindness of Bishop Hicke that Deacon was sent to be educated at the academy at Oxford.

If reference be made to the Latin memorandum quoted above it will be seen that interesting light is thrown on Deacon's first connection with Manchester. It is suggested on p. 61 of this work that Deacon's first visit to Manchester was merely preliminary, and this would appear to be confirmed by the words "*ad Mancunium revertit.*" A letter from Deacon to Hearne, written on August 15, 1720, indicates that Deacon was at that time still in London, probably in the interval between his first visit to Manchester and his return to the northern city to take up the work for which he was then more fully qualified.

Advantage may be taken of this additional note to state that interesting relics of Deacon are now in the possession of the Society of S. John the Evangelist, Cowley, Oxford. They consist of a small Communion Service and a copy of vol. ii of the "*Compleat Devotions*," with copious marginal notes in the author's handwriting. The sacred vessels are contained in a box of plain oak, strongly resembling a pocket medicine chest. As a matter of fact the box was originally sold in Manchester as an ancient medicine chest. The vessels are of plain glass, consisting of chalice and paten and a *quasi* flagon. There is also in possession of the same society the head of a pastoral staff which is almost certainly to be identified with the one mentioned on page 155 of this work. It is a cheap production of wood and gilt and in appearance it strongly resembles the staff held in the hand of Deacon as represented in the frontispiece of this work.

Insert facing p. 1, Brown's "Life of Thomas Deacon," 1911, M.U. Press.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.

CANON Overton's "History of the Non-jurors" may be regarded as the last word on the movement as a whole, and this work must not be expected to contain a complete statement of the many different phases of thought and life which are represented in the 100 years' History of the Non-jurors. It is nevertheless impossible to write a biography of Deacon, in any sense worthy of the name, which does not show his position in the movement to which he devoted his life. We shall find in fact that a study of Deacon's life will embrace almost all that followed on the passing away of the "Deprived Fathers." With the important exception of the negotiations with the Eastern Patriarchs, there was no phase in the later developments of the movement in which Thomas Deacon was not concerned, and it is the purpose of the present chapter to capitulate very briefly the main events from the Accession of William and Mary in 1689 to the appearance, apparently sudden and dramatic, of Deacon, as intimately concerned with the rising of the '15, which followed on the failure of the negotiations concerning the succession of the son of James II. to the throne of his father.

It may be found convenient to tabulate the names of the original non-juring bishops with the dates of their births and deaths.

William Sancroft (Canterbury).....	1617—93
William Thomas (Worcester)	1613—89
Robert Frampton (Gloucester)	1622—1708
John Lake (Chichester)	1624—89
Thomas White (Peterborough).....	1628—98
Francis Turner (Ely)	1636—1700
William Lloyd (Norwich)	1637—1710
Thomas Ken (Bath and Wells).....	1637—1712

From these dates it will be seen that the Bishops of Worcester and Chichester were already at the end of their career when the crisis of the Revolution occurred: Ken and Frampton from the first assumed a position of moderation and conciliation: and Sancroft formally delegated his authority to Lloyd, who, with Turner and White were the real leaders of what was now about to become a definitely separated and organised religious body.

The delegation on February 9, 1689, by Sancroft of his metropolitical powers to Lloyd may be taken as our starting point. The original document is, with other remains of Sancroft, in the possession of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, but a copy is preserved in the Library at Sion College, which it has been my privilege to see. "In a word whatsoever you shall of yourself do or order to be done in affairs of this kind, all that how great so ever or of what sort so ever it be, boldly impute it to me. I, William, have written it with my own hand and will stand by it." "*Mihi audenter imputa. Ecce! Ego Wilhelmus manu mea scripsi: ego praestabo.*"

The "affairs of this kind" were no less than proposals to continue the succession of the non-juring bishops by new consecrations. The methods adopted were all based on the assumption that the Revolution Government both in Church and State was unlawful, and that the source of all authority still remained in the person of James II.

It is important to remember that the non-juring Bishops treated the Government of William and Mary as simply non-existent. "The King over the Water" was to them the only King, and they considered that the whole of their procedure was normal and constitutional.

The normal method of the appointment of bishops was then exactly what it is at the present time. Nomination by the Sovereign, followed by an election by Dean and Chapter, was necessary before the formalities of

confirmation by the Bishops of the Province could take place, and if the elect were not already a Bishop, consecration to the Episcopal Order formed the final stage. The difficulty in the present case was that election by Dean and Chapter could not be obtained and resource was therefore had to an Act of Henry VIII., under which Suffragan Bishops could be consecrated immediately on nomination by the Crown. A similar attempt was contemplated before the Restoration of 1660, in view of the possibility of the succession of Bishops being extinguished, but the necessity passed away with the return of the Stuarts. What was then merely proposed was now actually accomplished. A full account of the whole proceedings is given us by Dr. George Hickes,¹ one of the newly consecrated Bishops, who so dominated the entire movement that the expression "the Communion of Dr. Hickes" was in the latter years of Queen Anne used to signify the body of non-jurors.

George Hickes (1642—1715) of Magdalen and Lincoln Colleges, Oxford, held many preferments, and in August, 1683, was appointed Dean of Worcester. He was deprived on February 1st, 16⁸³, but a notice of protest was affixed by him to the doors of his Cathedral. On the decision by the deprived Bishops to continue the succession, Hickes was selected to proceed to France to obtain the consent of King James, and in his own very full account of the transaction two points may be particularly noticed. The first of these is the delay which occurred in obtaining any answer from James, which was occasioned by the discovery that, as a matter of conscience, it was necessary to refer the question to Pope Innocent XII. and to the Archbishop of Paris, and the Bishop of Meaux. Canon Overton remarks that an

1. See Overton, p. 84, Note : 30 copies of Dr. Hickes "Records of the New Consecrations" were printed and distributed privately by Dr. Richard Rawlinson.

Englishman's choler is inclined to rise when he reads of this stage in the proceedings. The "choler" may perhaps be taken for granted but there is little occasion for it. The plain fact is that the non-jurors had nothing to do with Innocent XII., nor he with them. They neither desired nor received Papal approval. The whole matter lay between the Pope and James who was advised that he might safely intermeddle in these matters, and the Royal consent was thereupon formally given.

The second point worthy of notice is that the deprived Bishops expressly determined to proceed with the matter even without the King's consent, if that were for any reason withheld. Here is the first sign of the conception of the independence of the Church which developed to such an extent that, as we shall see, Thomas Deacon in 1750 actually held it unlawful to communicate with the Church of England because she held the doctrine of the King's supremacy.

Hickes returned to England and the consecrations thereupon took place, Hickes being nominated by Sancroft, and Thomas Wagstaffe by Lloyd. A short extract from Hickes' own account may be given. "He (Hickes) came to London on the 4th February, 16⁹³, and on the Feast of St. Matthias, the 24th of the same month, the consecrations were solemnly performed according to the rites of the Church of England by Dr. William Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, and Dr. Thomas White, Bishop of Peterborough, at the Bishop of Peterborough's lodgings at the Reverend Mr. William Giffard's house at Southgate in Middlesex: Dr. Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, giving his consent."¹

Thomas Wagstaffe (1645—1712) the second Bishop consecrated at this time, of Charterhouse, and New Inn Hall, Oxford, had been Chancellor and Prebendary of

1. Hickes assumed the title of Bishop-Suffragan of Thetford, and Wagstaffe of Ipswich.

Lichfield, but was of course deprived at the Revolution. He does not appear to have exercised his episcopal office, but was justly regarded as one of the strongest defenders of the non-jurors by his pen, entering into controversy with Bishop Burnet and Dr. Sherlock. He was one of the many non-jurors who had studied medicine, and although without any degree or license, contrived to maintain himself and his family by the practice of physic in London. The date of his death was October 17th, 1712, and Bishop Hicke was therefore the only Bishop surviving of the non-jurors, and the further consecrations took place which bring us much nearer to our own particular subject.

It may be well however, before recording this further consecration, to point out one or two features characteristic of the period from 1693—1713. The fact of the earlier consecrations having taken place was known to few; it is stated by Canon Overton¹ that even Thos. Hearne did not know anything about the matter so late as 1711. Bishop Hicke passed the intervening time in comparative retirement, but in 1696 his house at Bagshot Heath was set upon by a mob, in the midst of the excitement caused by the attempted assassination of William III. In the same year he wrote a "Declaration concerning the Faith and Religion in which he lived and intended to die." The Declaration is quoted in full by Canon Overton² and deserves to be carefully read. One extract only need be given here, "I profess and declare the Church of England as it was governed and administered by true and lawful and rightful Bishops before the Revolution to have been a true and sound part of the Catholic Church. . . . I am fully persuaded and declare that the Church of England now consists in the deprived Bishops so called and that faithful remnant which adheres to them, and that the other Archbishops

1. Overton's "History of Non-jurors," p. 90.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

and Bishops, and the great majority adhering to them, are guilty of a great schism to be lamented by all good Christians."

This is a most uncompromising statement of what may be called the original position of the non-jurors, but if Hickes' statement as to the pre-Revolution Church being a true and sound part of the Catholic Church be contrasted with Deacon's Doctrine of the Church as stated in his "Comprehensive View," it will be noted how great the change is between Hickes in 1696 and Deacon in 1748.

During these years of storm and suffering Hickes published in 1703-5 his greatest work "*Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archaeologicus*."

This work together with his "*Institutiones Grammaticae Anglo-Saxonicae et Maeso-Gothicae*," published in 1689, won for Hickes a reputation which extended over Europe.¹

The death of Wagstaffe in 1712 occurred at a time apparently much more favourable to the non-jurors than was the case in 1693. The Revolution was not now universally regarded as beyond criticism. Bishop Geo. Hooper (1640-1727) who, high Churchman as he was, took the oaths at the Revolution and almost persuaded Bishop Ken to do the same, and who only accepted the See of Bath and Wells after urgently desiring Ken to accept the offer made to him of his old See by Queen Anne, did not hesitate to say that "the Revolution was not much to be boasted of." The Sacheverell trial, the

1. The following quotation, which refers to the *Thesaurus*, is taken from the article on Hickes in Chalmers' *Biographical Dictionary*:—"The great Duke of Tuscany's envoy sent a copy of it to his master, which His Highness looking into and finding full of strange characters, called a council of the Dotti and commanded them to peruse and give an account of. They did so, and reported it to be an excellent work, and that they believed the author to be a man of a particular head; for this was the envoy's compliment to Hickes when he went to him with a present from his master."

passing of the Act against Occasional Conformity, the growing impression that Queen Anne could be prevailed upon to prepare the way for the succession of her brother, and the widespread dislike of a possible Hanoverian succession, all pointed in the same direction of a general revival of Toryism and Jacobitism. The earnest desire¹ expressed by Bishop Ken that the schism might now be healed, which was followed by the return to the Church of such men as Dodwell and Nelson, deprived the non-jurors of what may be styled the more moderate element, and prepared the way for the more extreme developments which were not long in manifesting themselves. The signs of an entirely new tendency are to be found in the names of the two Bishops whom Hickes now called in to assist him in the further perpetuation of the non-juring line. On the Feast of the Ascension, 14th of May, 1713, Hickes, with Bishops Archibald Campbell and James Gadderar consecrated in his own Oratory in Scroop's Court near St. Andrew's, Holborn, Jeremy Collier, Nathaniel Spinckes, and Samuel Hawes. Some space must be found for a brief notice not only of the newly-consecrated, but also of the two Scottish Bishops whom Hickes now called to his assistance. We may suitably introduce Bishop Archibald Campbell by quoting Dr. Johnson's estimate of his character as given in Boswell's "Tour to the Hebrides" under the date of October 25th. Boswell gives us, with considerable detail and with evident appreciation of the high company in which he found himself, an account of a visit of Dr. Johnson and himself to the Duke of Argyll at Inverary. After recording in his own inimitable style the impression made upon his fancy by the ladies' maids tripping about in neat morning dress, and Dr. Johnson's statement that what he most admired was "the total defiance of expense," Boswell tells us of a conversation at table which is of interest to our subject.

1. Lathbury's "History of the Non-jurors," p. 204.

"I know not how a middle state came to be mentioned. Her Grace wished to hear him (Johnson) on that point, 'Madam,' said he, 'your own relation, Mr. Archibald Campbell, can tell you better about it than I can. He was a Bishop of the non-juring communion and wrote a book on the subject.' " Further information is given by Boswell in a footnote appended to the text, which I here quote, "Dr. Johnson and I spent some time together in June, 1784, at Pembroke College, with Rev. Dr. Adams, the Master, and I having expressed a regret, that my note relative to Mr. Archibald Campbell was imperfect, he (Johnson) was then so good as to write with his own hand on the blank page of the journal opposite to that which contained what I have now mentioned, the following paragraph which however is not quite so full as the narrative he gave at Inverary. 'The Hon. Archibald Campbell was, I believe, the nephew of the Marquis of Argyll. He began life by engaging in Monmouth's Rebellion, and to escape the law lived some time in Surinam.¹ When he returned he became zealous for episcopacy and monarchy, and at the Revolution he adhered not only to the non-jurors but to those who refused to communicate with the Church of England, or to be present at any worship where the usurper was mentioned as King. He was, I believe, more than once apprehended in the reign of King William and once at the Accession of George. He was the familiar friend of Hickes and Nelson, a man of letters but injudicious; very curious and inquisitive, but credulous. He died in 1743-4, about 75 years old.' "

To this account of Dr. Johnson it may be added that Archibald Campbell was the second son of Lord Niel Campbell, the second son of Archibald Campbell (1598—1661), Marquis of Argyll and eighth Earl, executed by

1. Another name for Dutch Guiana and for a river in that country. It was given to the Dutch in 1667 in exchange for New Amsterdam (New York), and in 1803 it was again taken by the English, but restored to the Dutch at the peace of 1814.

Charles II., 27th of May, 1661. His uncle referred to by Johnson was the ninth Earl. It is not very easy to see how Campbell came to be among the party of the extreme non-jurors. His mother, Lady Vere Ker, daughter of the third, and sister of the fourth Earl of Lothian, was in the confidence of William III., but, hereditary influences notwithstanding, Archibald Campbell during the whole period we have in review may be described as the "stormy petrel" of the non-juring movement, and was moreover, the only man with whom Deacon remained in communion in the course of his later development. Campbell was consecrated Bishop at Aberdeen on August 25th, 1711, by Bishops Rose, Douglas, and Falconer, and in 1721 was elected Diocesan Bishop of the See of Aberdeen. The comments of George Lockhart on this consecration are very pointed. "Though adorned with none of the qualifications necessary in a Bishop and remarkable for some things inconsistent with the character of a gentleman, he was most imprudently consecrated some time ago."¹ Campbell will appear again in these memoirs, but I venture to think that a brief study of the career of this wandering prelate will fully justify the criticisms which have already been quoted. He never administered the Diocese of Aberdeen, and formally resigned it in 1725 to James Gadderar, his co-consecrator on the occasion which is now being reviewed.

Notice of Campbell's "Middle State" may be deferred till we come to deal with Deacon's book on "Purgatory."

James Gadderar (1655—1733), one of the "rabbled" clergy of 1688, was consecrated February 24th, 1712, at the express desire of Rose, deprived Bishop of Edinburgh, by Hickes, Falconer, and Campbell. He took some part in the negotiations with the Eastern Patriarchs, but his history really belongs to his native country, and he is chiefly memorable for his connection

1. Lockhart Papers, ii, 37.

with the present liturgy of the Scottish Episcopal Church.

As to the consecration itself the official record, dated June 3rd, 1713, refers to the Royal consent,¹ but no mention is made of the Act of Henry VIII., and it is quite evident that a further stage of development has now been reached. Hickes is described as Bishop of the English Catholic Church, and Campbell and Gadderar as of the Scottish Catholic Church. The interference of the Scottish Bishops in this affair was in itself highly irregular, and we are now at the beginning of a series of consecrations which are uncanonical from any point of view.

As to the three Bishops now consecrated, Jeremy Collier (1650—1726) the best known, and to us the most interesting as the Bishop from whom Deacon received deacon's and priest's orders, was one of the many non-juring divines whose fame extends beyond the narrow limits of their religious communion. He came into great prominence in connection with the execution of Sir John Friend and Sir William Parkyns, who were condemned to death for their share in the assassination plots of 1696. Collier, with Cook and Snatt, two other non-juring priests, publicly absolved the criminals, and as a result all three were indicted of absolving traitors and found guilty.² Collier did not surrender and was outlawed, and an outlaw he remained till the end of his life, although he resumed his ordinary occupations. Lest this brief account should unduly prejudice the reader against Collier, it may here be added that Macaulay, who certainly never erred on the side of praise where non-jurors were concerned, acknowledges that "he was in the full force of the words, a good man."³ Collier is, however, principally remembered for his "Short View

1. The phrase actually used is "*Regio consensu prius impetrato.*"

2. A full account of the whole proceedings is to be found in Howell's "*State Trials*," Vol. xiii, pp. 419 *seq.*

3. "*History of England*," Chapter 14.

of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage." March, 16⁸⁷). It was probably recollection of this work which caused Dr. Johnson to except Collier from his general sentence of condemnation, "Collier never had any adversary, and I do not therefore reckon him."

Nathaniel Spinckes (1653—1727), of Trinity and Jesus Colleges, Cambridge, Prebendary of Salisbury at the time of the Revolution, was the life-long friend of Hickes, and a rare example of a controversialist who never made an enemy or lost his own reputation for saintliness. He took a leading part in the controversy which was now about to break forth, and was principal spokesman for those who were named "Non-Usagers." He dealt Thomas Deacon one or two shrewd blows in the controversy, which Deacon was quite capable of returning. It may be of interest to remark that Spinckes was recommended by Robert Nelson to Samuel Pepys as a spiritual adviser, a task which would appear sufficiently arduous. It was however Hickes and not Spinckes who attended Pepys on his death-bed.¹

Of Samuel Hawes little need be said except that he was a chaplain of the Earl of Winchelsea, a well-known patron of the non-jurors, and that he was on the side of the Non-Usagers in the controversy. His death occurred in 1722.

With a brief account of the next consecration and of the newly-appointed Bishops, this introductory chapter must be brought to a close. On St. Paul's day, 17¹⁵, Dr. Thomas Brett and Mr. Henry Gandy were consecrated in Mr. Gandy's chapel by Collier, Hawes, Spinckes, Campbell, and Gadderar.

Dr. Thomas Brett (1667—1743), of Queens' and Corpus Colleges, Cambridge, and of Spring Grove, Wye, in the County of Kent, came of a good family, from whom he had inherited Whig traditions. He was able to take

1. Overton's "History of the Non-jurors," p. 130.

the Abjuration Oath¹ and even in 1710 wrote in opposition to the standpoint of the non-jurors. From that date however his position rapidly changed, and at the Accession of George the First, he declined to take the oaths afresh and was deprived of his preferments. On July 1st, 1715, he was formally received into the non-juring communion by Bishop Hickeys. Brett had an unrivalled knowledge of primitive liturgies, and was a tower of strength to the Usagers.²

There is however, evidence in existence (which I hope to produce) to the fact that in later years Brett once more changed his position, and his immediate descendants conformed to the English Church.

Henry Gandy (1649—1734), of Oriel College, Oxford, has little direct connection with our subject. He was a strong non-usager, and took a considerable share in the controversy.

The only apology which can be made for so much introductory matter being inflicted on the reader is, that as Thomas Deacon appears on the scene with somewhat startling suddenness, it may be considered desirable to submit a brief description of the men amongst whom he worked, and with whom he joined in controversy. It is now however, high time that Thomas Deacon himself should have mention in these pages, and what can be told of his early life will be related in the next chapter.

1. For a succinct statement of the Abjuration Oaths of 1711 and 1714 see Overton's "Non-jurors," pp. 2 and 3.

Shortly after the death of James II. an Act of Parliament was passed by which all persons holding public office were compelled to abjure the Pretended Prince of Wales, and on the Accession of George I. a similar Act was passed renewing in somewhat more stringent terms the enforcement of the Abjuration. The Act of 1711 was certainly a blunder; it undoubtedly prevented the reconciliation to the Church of Bishop Ken. It is possible that more could be said in favour of the Act of 1714. The distinction sometimes drawn between the Non-Abjurors, or those who refused the oaths of 1711 and 1714, and the original Non-Jurors, who refused to swear allegiance to the Government of William and Mary is not of much practical interest.

2. A full explanation of the meaning of the terms "Usager" and "Non-Usager" is given in Chapter 3. For the present it may suffice to say that the "Usagers" desired to revive certain primitive practices in connection with the celebration of the Eucharist; the "Non-Usagers" protested against any alteration of the established Liturgy.

CHAPTER II.

**Thomas Deacon's Birth and Early Life : His Ordination,
and Connection with the '15.**

THE statement in the article on Deacon in the Dictionary of National Biography that Thomas Deacon was born in 1697 and was residing in London in 1715 contains, so far as I have been able to ascertain, all the information hitherto available as to Deacon's birth and early life. The date of birth is apparently calculated from the inscription on the tombstone at St. Ann's, Manchester, in which Deacon is said to have been in his 56th year on the 16th of February, 1753. There is however reason to believe that Thomas Deacon was born on the 2nd of September, 1697, at Limehouse, in the Parish of Stepney. The evidence for this statement will require some examination. It consists mainly of three facts which were discovered by the present writer in the order given below.

In the first place a copy of the Last Will and Testament of William Deacon, Mariner, of Ratcliffe, in the Parish of Stepney, and of Stebunheath,¹ in the County of Middlesex, is to be found in the Principal Probate Registry at Somerset House, in the catalogue of the year 1706. The Will, which is of a somewhat unusual character, bears the date of 24th July, 1688. During the testator's lifetime the document is intended to give power of attorney to his beloved wife Cecilia to act for him in all matters as if he were personally present. She is to pay all debts incurred by him on board any

1. Stebunheath is apparently the old name for the entire district now known to us as Stepney. A map which hangs in the vestry of St. Dunstan's, Stepney, gives this name to what was probably an open country district.

ship, and to receive all wages due to him for his services on any ship or ships. When it shall please Almighty God to call him from this life, William Deacon's mind and intention is that the document shall be regarded as his last will and testament, and the said Cecilia Deacon is to be sole executrix and legatee. William Deacon died in 1706, and probate was granted to his wife Cecilia on the 9th of August of the same year.

In the second place valuable information is to be found in the codicil to the Last Will and Testament of Bishop Hickee, dated 18th July, 1715, a printed copy of which is to be found in the Library of Sion College. Among other small bequests, Bishop Hickee leaves £15 to Mrs. Cecilia Deacon "to buy her mourning," and £30 in money to Mr. Thomas Deacon to whom also were bequeathed 20 of Hickee's unbound books¹ and money to buy a mourning ring. Similar bequests for "rings" were made to Archibald Campbell, Jeremy Collier, Hawes, Gadderar, and Roger Laurence. Now it is evident that the Thomas Deacon referred to by Hickee is no other than the subject of this biography, and the recurrence of the uncommon name of Cecilia in connection with Thomas Deacon render it exceedingly probable that Thomas Deacon was the son of William and Cecilia Deacon of Ratcliffe, who have been referred to in connection with William Deacon's will at Somerset House. A search in the Stepney Registers yielded very satisfactory results. In the Baptismal Register, under the date of September 19th, 1697, the following entry is to be found.

"Thomas, son of Captain William Deacon, of Limehouse, and Cecilia his wife, 18 days old."²

1. It may be noted that an edition of Hickee's "Constitution of the Catholic Church" was published by Thomas Deacon in 1719. (See "Life of Hickee," Dict. Nat. Biog.)

2. The Stepney Registers contain the names of very many *sea* captains. Their tombstones in the churchyard are to be recognised by the curious nautical devices engraved at the head of the stone.

Reckoning (as was usual) both the days of birth and baptism, this would give the date of birth as 2nd of September, 1697. The evidence for the identification of this child with the future non-juring bishop may be considered as fairly complete, and it will be noted that, if the statement be accepted, it confirms the date inscribed on Deacon's tombstone, and all speculation as to Deacon being in reality a few years older than has commonly been supposed must now definitely be laid aside.

Captain William Deacon died in 1706 but does not appear to have been buried at Stepney, and I have not been able to trace the decease of Cecilia Deacon. It is however, certain, that she married a second time and that she was alive in 1733. I was first led to this conclusion from the fact that in the list of subscribers to Deacon's "Tillemont," referred to on page 171, is to be found the name of Mrs. *Cecilia* Collier, but the matter is put beyond all doubt by John Byrom's entry in his Journal for January 3rd, 173^o.¹

"dined at Jo. Clowes, Dr. Deacon's mother there : we had a fillet of veal but not a fine one, it being red which I took notice of because I thought his wife was a better caterer : I stayed tea till 6 o'clock and left Mrs. Collier there : she said that Mr. Law was a great beau, would have fine linen, was very sweet upon the ladies and had made one believe that he would marry her, that he made his great change in the year 1720, that he wore a wig again, and divers particulars about Mrs. Hughes, Mr. Collier, Dr. Kennion." It is evident that, whatever other qualities Mrs. Cecilia Collier possessed, she certainly was an incorrigible gossip; her representation of William Law as a "great beau" is, to say the least, novel and startling. There does not appear to be any information as to the identity of the "Mr. Collier" whom Cecilia Deacon took for her second husband, and any

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. i, p. 444.

discovery which may be made on this point would conceivably be of considerable value and interest. If it were possible to assume that the Deacons were by means of this second marriage brought into family connection with Jeremy Collier, it would go far to explain the rapid advance of Thomas Deacon in the counsels of the non-jurors. Considerable research on this subject has however yielded no result, and the suggestion can only be regarded as an attractive conjecture.¹

Nothing is known of Deacon's education unless we may conjecture, from the bequests made by Bishop Hickee to Cecilia Deacon and her son, that Hickee had taken a paternal interest in young Deacon's development. Cecilia Deacon was left a widow in 1706 at which time her son Thomas was but nine years old. It is certain that Deacon had no degree, and in the curious dialogue between "Timothy, a Churchman, and Thomas, an Essentialist," (see page 35), it is assumed that he had not received any university training. Thomas is made to say, "I have been in Oxford and that's enough." Writing in later life to John Byrom, February 20th, 17²⁹₃₀, Deacon distinctly states that he "never was in Cambridge." Wherever or by whomsoever Deacon was educated there is no doubt that the training which he received was thorough and complete. He was, in early manhood, a complete master of the Greek and Latin tongues, and of the modern French language, and had also acquired a facility in his native tongue which is characteristic of his writings throughout life. An

1. A certain J. Deacon appears to have been the author of a pamphlet entitled "The Fathers Vindicated; or Animadversions on a late Socinian book entitul'd 'The Judgement of the Fathers touching the Trinity against Dr. Bull's Defence of the Nicene Faith,' by a Presbyter of the Church of England," London, 1697. On the title-page of the copy in the British Museum there is a MS. note after the word "Presbyter," "By J. Deacon, Non-juror." I have not been able to identify this man, but there would appear *prima facie* evidence for connecting him with the family of the subject of this Biography.

2. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. i, p. 428.

interesting side note in Byrom's Journal indicates that Deacon also possessed some knowledge of Hebrew.¹

We know nothing of the first connection of the Deacons with the non-juring party, although it may be conjectured that Thomas Deacon was brought up by his mother in the belief of the unlawfulness of the Revolution Government. The codicil of Bishop Hickeys' Will is dated nearly two years later than the Will itself, in which the Deacons are not named; it is evident that during the two intervening years Deacon's connection with the non-juring leaders must have become of a more intimate nature. The first definite information however, which we possess, is found in the record of his ordination.²

"Mr. Thomas Deacon was ordained deacon in Mr. Gandy's Chapel, in Scrope Court, against St. Andrew's, Holbourn, on March 12th, 17th, by Mr. Collier in the presence of Mr. Gandy, Mr. Peck, Mr. Laurence, and Mr. Wignell: Preist (sic) March 19th by the same Bishop in the same place."

It will be noted that Deacon was not more than 18½ years old at this date, and it is impossible to excuse Collier from flagrant violation of the ancient Canons. It may of course be argued on the other side, and with perfect truth, that Deacon's mental development was far beyond his years, but it is strange indeed that those who professed reverence for primitive antiquity should so hastily ordain a youth of 18 both to diaconate and priesthood.³

Thomas Deacon, now to be reckoned among the non-juring clergy, made his first appearance before the public

1. Byrom's Remains, Vol. 2, p. 306: the reference is to a Hebrew MS. of the Bible which Deacon and Byrom were to study together.

2. "Notes and Queries," Series III, Vol. iii, p. 243, quoting from Rawlinson MSS.

3. The custom of the first four centuries with regard to the age of ordination varies somewhat, but the limit fixed in the Anglican Ordinal seems, on the whole, to an earlier age than was common in the first centuries. It would task the ingenuity of Thomas Deacon himself to find any sanction for the ordination of a Presbyter at the age of 18.

in connection with the execution of two of the rebels of the '15, the Rev. William Paul, of Ashby, near Lutterworth, and John Hall, Esq., of Otterbourne, in the County of Northumberland, and Justice of Peace for that County. Much interesting information concerning these two men may be gathered from Robert Patten's "History of the Late Rebellion" (of 1715). Patten may be said to have written an account of the Rebellion from the point of view of both sides. He was Chaplain to General Foster and was made prisoner at Preston, 13th November, 1715, and was carried to London. He there made an offer of King's evidence which was accepted, and his leisure was employed in producing a most racy account of the whole movement. William Paul, born in 1678, at Little Ashby, took the oaths on his institution to the Vicarage of Orton, Leicestershire, on 5th May, 1709, but joined the Rebellion of '15, "being born for his destiny," as Patten says, and read prayers for James III. at Lancaster. He was allowed to go free and proceeded to London, where he was recognised in St. James' Park by a Justice of his native County, was arrested, tried, and condemned to death. His behaviour between sentence and execution was abject in the extreme. His fellow sufferer, "mad Jack Hall of Otterbourne," was of sterner stuff. He had a fierce and passionate temper and had a reputation all over his native County for violence and eccentricity. Concerning his end, Patten says, "he denied his faith and made a strange exit." The execution of these unfortunate men took place on 13th July 1716, at which time were delivered to the Sheriffs the famous dying speeches which were entirely incongruous to the characters of the men as I have briefly described them. There is much that is uncertain in connection with the scenes which took place at the execution, but there is no doubt whatever that the speeches were composed by Thomas Deacon. On September 1st, 1725, John Byrom records

the fact¹ that "Dr. Deacon told me about making Hall and Paul's speeches." It is also tolerably certain that Deacon's connection with the affair was not confined to the composition of the speeches. Our information on this subject is practically limited to the charges brought 30 years later against Deacon by Josiah Owen of Rochdale, and to Deacon's vindications of himself against these charges. The reader is referred to Appendix B, pages 198 and 199, for the full details.

Owen declares that Deacon travelled in the sledge from Newgate to Tyburn with the prisoners and was hooted by the crowd : that as they passed along Holborn Dr. Sacheverell stood by and greeted Deacon with a "reverend bow and most respectful salutation." Owen further states that Deacon stepped from the sledge into the cart at Tyburn, and at the request of the prisoners prayed with them for some time, absolved them, "declared that what they did was meritorious" and then made off : that Mr. Lorrain the "ordinary" of Newgate prayed with the prisoners at the last moment, although his ministrations were apparently not acceptable to them.

Deacon's own account is very different. He denies absolutely that he officiated with the unfortunate men in their last moments, and asserts that the person who did so was the Reverend Francis Peck, M.A., formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge, but that "neither he nor anyone else did there and then absolve them." As to the charge of declaring that what they did was meritorious, Deacon declares that he said no such thing either publicly or privately.

It may be taken for granted that Owen's account is not by any means free from exaggeration ; "This account," he says, "I have received." Deacon does not deny that he ministered to the prisoners in private, but, on the contrary, practically leaves the reader to infer that he had communication with the prisoners at

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. i, p. 178.

least when they were in gaol. The real difficulty lies in the mention of the Reverend Francis Peck, who was afterwards a famous antiquary. It is difficult to imagine that Deacon could have had the slightest reason for inventing this story, but on the other hand Peck is not generally regarded as having had much connection with the non-jurors, although his name is certainly to be found in the complete list supplied by Canon Overton. I may, however, make a suggestion which would solve the difficulty. Is it possible to identify the Mr. Peck who was witness of Deacon's ordination (see page 17) with the Reverend Francis Peck, M.A., of Trinity College? If this suggestion be adopted, Mr. Peck might well be the non-juring parson referred to by Owen, who erroneously supposed that it was Deacon.

The speeches themselves are of some interest. Paul's speech is uncompromisingly Jacobite in its tone. James III. is King and the Elector of Brunswick is the Pretender. "I would not have you think that I am a member of that schismatical church whose Bishops set themselves up in opposition to those orthodox fathers who were unlawfully and invalidly deprived by the Prince of Orange. I declare that I renounce that Communion, and that I die a dutiful and faithful member of that non-juring Church which has kept itself free from rebellion and schism, and has preserved and maintained the true orthodox principle both as to Church and State. I desire the Clergy and all members of the Revolution Church to consider what bottom they stand upon, when their succession is grounded upon an unlawful and invalid deprivation of Catholic Bishops, the only foundation of which is a pretended Act of Parliament."

The speech of John Hall, although of similar tenour, is an entirely separate production. "The Communion I die in is that of the true Catholic non-juring Church of England and I pray God to prosper and increase it."

It is, of course, obvious that the main purport of the speeches was to advertise the fact that the non-juring party had become a distinct communion which claimed the right to declare that the Church of England was in reality a schismatical church. It is important to remember that this is the earliest manifestation of Deacon's attitude to the English Church. From this he never swerved to the least degree, his many friendships with the clergy notwithstanding.

The next incident of Deacon's life of which we have any record is a journey to Holland, which he made shortly after the events which have just been related. Here again we have two entirely differing accounts. Owen says that, as a result of Deacon's conduct at the executions, warrants were issued out against him and that he was sent at the expense of the non-juring party to Holland, in which country he studied medicine. Deacon, on the other hand, admits that the visit to Holland took place, but denies that any warrants were issued against him. He went about London for three months after these events and stayed in Holland at his own cost. As to his medical studies these were not even thought of at the time, but were entered upon on his return to England on the advice, and by the assistance, of Dr. Richard Mead. There may perhaps be some doubt as to the question of the warrants, but in other respects Deacon's own version of events may be accepted as correct. If we date Deacon's departure for Holland in the late autumn of 1716, it may be conjectured that his stay there would not extend over many months, and that he would be back in London in the early part of 1717. There is no record of his name in the register of medical students at the University of Leyden, and I take it that his training as a physician began on his return to London in 1717.

Dr. Richard Mead was one of the most distinguished physicians of the earlier part of the 18th century. There

is a fascinating account of him given in the "Roll of the College of Physicians of London," written by Wm. Munk, M.D., F.S.A., and published in 1878. Richard Mead was born at Stepney in 1673, studied at Utrecht and Leyden, and received the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Padua in 1695. On his return to England he settled for some time in Stepney, where he had considerable influence, as had also his father Matthew Mead, who was a minister of the famous Stepney Meeting.¹ A portrait of Matthew Mead, "Minister of the Gospel," hangs in the vestry of St. Dunstan's Church, Stepney, of which church Mead was "Morning Lecturer" in the time of the Commonwealth. In 1714 Dr. Mead succeeded to the practice of Dr. Radcliffe and removed to the house of his predecessor in Bloomsbury Square, in 1716 he became Fellow of the College of Physicians, and on the accession of George II. was appointed Physician in Ordinary to that monarch, a position which he held to his death. He was a great collector and possessed among other treasures a large number of Oriental, Greek and Latin MSS. What was the origin of the connection between Mead, the Dissenter and Whig, and Deacon, the pronounced High Churchman and Jacobite, it is not very easy to conjecture, unless it is to be found in the fact that both were natives of Stepney. However this may be, it was certainly a piece of good fortune for Deacon to be brought under the influence of such a distinguished ornament of the medical profession as Richard Mead. One can imagine that the MSS. referred to would prove an irresistible attraction to Deacon, and all that is recorded of Mead

1. The Stepney "Meeting" or Congregational Church was founded in 1644, the first pastor being William Greenhill, who held the Vicarage of Stepney for about seven years during the time of the Commonwealth, retaining at the same time his pastorate of the "Meeting." During this period Matthew Mead (who had been admitted a member of the "Meeting" on 28th December, 1656) held under Greenhill the position of Morning Lecturer at the Parish Church. Greenhill and Mead were of course ejected in 1662, and Mead succeeded Greenhill as pastor of the "Meeting" in 1671.

goes to show that he did not value his treasures for himself alone. The motto which he chose "*Non sibi, sed toti*," is said to have been characteristic of his whole life. There must also have been something hopeful and attractive in Deacon as he appeared to Dr. Mead, and we shall find that Deacon's medical career did not disgrace his illustrious patron. Dr. Hibbert-Ware¹ refers to two letters written by Deacon and addressed to Dr. Mead on the subject of "Fluor Albus and Cancer," published in the 10th volume of the Medical and Physical Journal. With this exception nothing is recorded of Deacon's subsequent relations with his old teacher.

We must now return to the realm of theology, and shall in the next chapter enter upon a study of the controversy concerning the "Usages."

1. "Foundations in Manchester," Vol. ii, p. 89.

CHAPTER III.

Deacon and the "Usages" Controversy: the New Communion Office of 1718.

THE subject, on the consideration of which we now enter, may be described as technical, theological, and controversial. The number of people who have any knowledge of the somewhat bitter controversy which ensued between the various sections of the small and dwindling number of non-jurors, is not, I suppose, very large, and in all probability the number of those who feel any interest in the matter is still smaller. Nevertheless the subject is not without interest to those who have some acquaintance, however superficial, with the history and structure of Christian liturgies, and quite apart from this consideration, a life of Deacon cannot be fully represented which does not deal in some measure of completeness with his personal standpoint in the controversy in which he bore a prominent part.

I desire, as far as possible, not merely to repeat what has been many times written on this subject (although a certain amount of repetition cannot be avoided), but to quote as largely as possible from Deacon's own writings, and with this aim in view I shall make considerable use, not only here, but in later portions of this memoir, of an interesting collection of MSS. which is to be found in the Chetham Library in Manchester. I shall do this the more freely as it does not appear that much use has hitherto been made of this document. For a description of these MSS. I may quote from the "Palatine Notebook," vol. 2, p. 116, June 1882, in a letter addressed to the Editor by Mr. Thomas Kerslake of Bristol. "I have lately put my hand upon a little manuscript volume

which I had mislaid for some years past It is a duodecimo volume of about an inch and a half thick, four inches wide, and a half high, in old brown rough calf with panel tooled sides. On one of the end leaves is this writing :—

‘ Charles Clement Deacon
His Book

New Goal (*sic*) Southwork Friday October 17th, 1746.
The contents of this volume are—

1. Copies of three letters of Dr. Thomas Brett, one to Mr. Jebb, two to ‘ Dr. Deacon at Manchester.’
2. Extracts from *Lombardi Sententiæ* and various Fathers.
3. The form of admitting a Convert.
4. A Litany for the use of those who mourn for the iniquities of the present times, etc.
5. Prayers to be said on the death of a member of the Church, etc.
6. Two discourses both written by Thomas Deacon.
7. Quotations from Bishop Gibson’s ‘*Codez.*’ ”

Commenting on the above Mr. Kerslake says that Numbers 2 and 7 are in good scholar-like handwriting, most likely of Dr. Deacon himself. Numbers 3, 4, 5, 6 probably the same handwriting later in life. I may point out that the handwriting of these four numbers is without doubt identical with Deacon’s writing on the frontispiece of the edition of the “Compleat Devotions” referred to on page 177: Number 1 copied by a less cultivated hand.

In the same volume of the “Note book ” (page 140) an editorial note states “that on his return to Bristol Mr. Thomas Kerslake intends to present this Jacobite relic to the Feoffees of Chetham’s Hospital for preservation in their Library.” A letter affixed to the volume itself records the actual gift.

From Thomas Kerslake,¹ Bristol, to Mr. J. Crossley,
July 22nd, 1882.

" Dear Sir,

Having learned from Mr. J. E. Bailey that a MS. of the Deacons, non-jurors, would be acceptable to the Feoffees of Chetham's Hospital for their Library, I have sent it you by this post in the hope that you will be so kind as to take charge of it for them."

Notice of the ill-fated owner of the book and of the greater part of the contents must be deferred till we come to a later period, but, as I intend to quote in the present chapter from one of the discourses contained in this volume, I thought it desirable to insert in this place the foregoing brief account of what is an extremely valuable although small collection of MSS.

The ' Usages ' controversy really turned upon the point as to whether the Book of Common Prayer was to be used by the non-jurors without any alteration, or whether the non-jurors, free as they were within the limits of their little communion from any State control, should use this liberty in the direction of enriching or improving the liturgy authorised at the final settlement of 1662.

It is, however, necessary for the proper understanding of the controversy that the reader should have a clear conception of the differences between the first liturgy of Edward VI. (which I shall describe briefly as ' 1 Edw. VI. ') and the present liturgy, and it may be convenient that a brief statement on this subject should be inserted in this place.

The main difference between 1 Edw. VI. and the present liturgy is to be found in the arrangement of the

1. Thomas Kerslake (1812—1891) was a native of Exeter, and about 1830 commenced business in Bristol as a second-hand bookseller in partnership with his brother-in-law, Samuel Cornish, who was of the same family as the founder of a well-known firm of booksellers of the same name in Manchester. (See article in Dict. Nat. Biog.)

Prayer of Consecration, or to speak more accurately, of the different forms of prayer by means of which the central act of consecration is effected. In the present office after the Offertory there follows the Prayer for the Church Militant, and between this Prayer and the *Sursum Corda*, Preface and *Sanctus*, are inserted the Confession and Absolution and Comfortable Words. After the *Sanctus* and before the Consecration proper the Prayer of Humble Access is placed, and the Consecration Prayer, strictly so-called, is little more than a recital of the Institution. It may be said that the present liturgy is in reality a dislocation of 1 Edw. VI. In that office the *Sursum Corda* Preface and *Sanctus* are placed immediately after the Offertory, and then begins a long prayer composed of the following parts:—(1) The prayer for the whole Church, in which was a petition for the faithful departed. (2) An Invocation of the Holy Ghost upon the elements. (3) The Recital of the Institution. (4) A short form of Oblation. (5) The Prayer now used as a Post-Communion, "O Lord and Heavenly Father, etc.," concluding with the Lord's Prayer. There followed the Confession and Absolution and Comfortable Words as a preparation for the Communion of priest and people.

The dispute as to the 'Usages' and the subsequent issue of the new communion office cannot be perfectly apprehended unless the differences between the liturgies of 1549 and 1662 are clearly understood.

Turning now to the question immediately under consideration we must resist all temptation to commence the study of this matter from an earlier date than that of the death of Bishop Hicke, to which time indeed the outbreak of the controversy may be assigned. Bishop Hicke undoubtedly expressed his preference for the liturgy contained in the first Prayer Book of Edward VIth and had used it in his oratory in Scroop's Court.¹

1. Archibald Campbell's "Middle State," p. 79.

Hickes' death took place in December 1715, and in July 1716 the actual controversy began. The matters in dispute are described very fully for us by Thomas Deacon himself in his Preface to his work on "Purgatory," which was published in 1718 and is noticed in its place in Appendix A.

"The World had not in all probability been troubled with these papers on 'Purgatory' but upon account of a new controversy concerning the restoring of some primitive practices in relation to no less a subject than that of the proper Christian worship, I mean, the Holy Sacrifice of the Eucharist. The things which are pleaded for as necessary to be restored are—

1. The mixture of the Wine and Water in the sacrificial cup.
2. The oblation of the Eucharistic elements as the representative sacrifice of Christ's Body and Blood.
3. The blessing of them or the Invocation of the Holy Ghost upon them.
4. The recommending of the faithful departed to God's mercy at the Celebration of the Christian Sacrifice."

It may be well to indicate briefly how these four practices are all provided for in 1 Edw. VI.

1. From the rubric after the offertory "And putting the wine into the chalice—putting thereto a little pure and clean water, etc."

2. *After* the Words of Institution—"Wherefore, O Lord and Heavenly Father according to the institution of Thy Dearly Beloved Son, Our Saviour Jesus Christ, we Thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty with these Thy Holy Gifts the memorial which Thy Son hath willed us to make."

3. *Before* the Words of Institution—"With Thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these Thy Gifts and creatures of bread and wine that

they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy Most Dearly Beloved Son Jesus Christ."

4. *Before* the Consecration proper—"We commend unto Thy mercy all other Thy servants which are departed hence from us with the sign of Faith and now do rest in the sleep of peace. Grant unto them we beseech Thee, Thy mercy and everlasting peace."

I now quote from a discourse copied in the MS. lately described, which is said to have been delivered by Thomas Deacon on Palm Sunday, April 6th 1718. It is an interesting conjecture as to where this sermon was preached. The well-known statement that "Thomas Deacon was before 1719 Minister of a Non-juring congregation in Aldersgate Street,"¹ might lead one to suppose that it was delivered in Trinity Chapel in that street. This Chapel was one of the most important of the non-juring places of worship in London. It is described by Rawlinson as "Mr. Orme's Chapel" after an incumbent of that name. "1717 June 18th Mr. John Lindsay was ordained Preist in Mr. Orme's Chapel, commonly called Trinity Chapel in the Parish of St. Botolph Without, Aldersgate Street." Lindsay afterwards held the position of Minister of this Chapel until his death in 1768, and as Robert Orme was apparently in charge of the Chapel in 1717 it is probable that Deacon would stand to him somewhat in the relation of an assistant Curate. But wherever the sermon was delivered, we are fortunate in possessing a copy of it, and I quote from it a passage which purports to give a full account of the negotiations which were conducted between the various sections of the non-juring bishops and clergy.

"It is almost two years since these matters were first debated among us: and though we always wished for several other things to be restored to the Church, yet we

1. "Gentleman's Magazine," 1746, p. 399

never insisted on more than these four necessary points. Our Bishops sent proposals to our adversaries which were either not regarded or refused."

It may here be noted that the tone of Deacon's remarks implies that in his judgment a complete separation had already been made, which was indeed the case.

"At last when the controversy was printed on both sides and the people were uneasy for a determination of the Church, our bishops gave in their last proposition with this declaration, that if they were agreed to, nothing more should be done, no more alterations should be made: but, if they were rejected, a schism would inevitably ensue, and then it might be thought proper to restore some other primitive usages. And that you may see how low our bishops condescended, I shall recite the last proposals, word for word, as they were sent to the opposing bishops."

It may be well to indicate here the bishops on either side of the controversy. On the side of the "Usagers" were Collier, Brett, Gadderar and above all, Campbell: on the side of those who desired that no change should be made were Hawes, Spinckes and Gandy. These are the "three opposite bishops" referred to by Deacon in the sermon from which we now again quote.

"Proposals for preventing a separation—

1. That Water be constantly mixed with the Wine.
2. That the words 'Militant here on earth' be always omitted.
3. That in the prayer of Consecration the petition be always 'Hear us O Merciful Father we most humbly beseech Thee: Bless these Thy creatures of Bread and Wine and grant that, etc.'
4. That the prayer of oblation¹ as it is worded in the present liturgy be always used immediately after the words of Institution before communicating."

1. i.e., The post-communion prayer, "O Lord and Heavenly Father, we Thy humble servants," etc.

We may once more break off at this point to indicate that another account of these negotiations is extant, from the point of view of the opposite party. It has been variously attributed to Blackburne, Hawes and Gandy and is freely quoted by Overton.¹ I shall content myself by pointing out that while in some measure it bears out Deacon's statement, a very different interpretation is given of the last meeting at which reconciliation was attempted. The 'non-usagers' story is, briefly, that negotiations began in July, 1716, that the 'restorers' or 'usagers' were always in a minority, and that on December 19th, 1717, the 'restorers' assembled "where they were secure of having no opposition" and from that date resolved to communicate no longer with their opponents.

Let us now proceed with Deacon's account:—

"Farther, notwithstanding our persuasion that none of these primitive usages can be dispensed with, yet we do not insist on their being received by our brethren as necessary things: provided they officiate by them they may, if they please, declare their practice means no more than temporary concessions and expedients for union."

Deacon proceeds to point out how great in his view was the moderation of the bishops on his side of the dispute.

"They insisted on no more alterations than that four words should be omitted, a single word added, and one prayer transposed—but all these condescensions were to no purpose: the proposals were rejected and no hopes of an accommodation left. However, that nothing might be wanting on our side, the bishops were all desired to meet by him (Jeremy Collier), who was their Senior Bishop, and whom they had chosen as their President, that if they could not be persuaded to union they might at least give their reasons why they could not agree to these proposals. But this also failed of

1. Overton's "History of the Non-Jurors," p. 293.

success for the three opposite bishops neglected or refused to come."

Deacon then goes on to say that the bishops thereupon issued a declaration that they thought it necessary to put these primitive and Catholic usages into practice, and instructed their clergy that communion with those who had taken the opposite side in the controversy must cease. "From this time we may date the formal schism, and from that time we thought ourselves discharged from all obligations to the opposite bishops and looked upon our own to be the true Catholic Bishops and to have the whole spiritual power over the Catholic Church in England."

With regard to this sermon it may be said, by way of side comment, that what strikes harshly on modern ears is the choice of a highly controversial subject for such an occasion as Palm Sunday. Deacon evidently felt no incongruity in dealing with controversial matters in sacred seasons, as a tract of his, dated Good Friday 1719, is in existence in the form of a reply to an attack made on him by Bishop Spinckes.¹

As to the subject matter of the sermon, a few brief remarks will suffice. It is true that Collier and Brett took the leading part in defending the restoration of the Usages, and it is certainly true that they were both quite capable of defending their position. But anyone who has read between the lines of Deacon's remarks must have perceived that there never was any real desire for peace, and that a separation was from the first intended and desired. I believe that Collier and Brett were really in modern phrase "rushed" by other members of their party, among whom I should put in the first place Archibald Campbell, and secondly, young as he was, Thomas Deacon himself. Thomas Brett, there is reason to believe, from a letter of his written in 1729 and copied in the MS. which has been referred to in this chapter, showed some desire to retrace his steps. However, the

1. See note, p. 34.

schism had now been accomplished and pamphlets abounded on both sides. One or two of these have special connection with Deacon but the others may be briefly indicated. Jeremy Collier's "Reasons for restoring some prayers and directions as they stood in the first English Reformed Liturgy," appeared in 1717. Spinckes immediately answered this in "No reasons for restoring, etc." Collier followed in 1718 with "A defence of the Reasons," and Spinckes again replied with "No sufficient reason, etc." In the course of this pamphlet Bishop Spinckes made some hostile criticism on Deacon's "Purgatory," and quoting largely from that work, accused Deacon of ignoring the Scriptures and placing tradition above them. Deacon's reply was the pamphlet dated Good Friday, 1719.¹ He states that by appealing to tradition he expressly included the Holy Scriptures, and proceeds "Hard it is that a Christian and a Priest of the Catholic Church should be called upon to declare that he receives and respects the Scriptures. Yet this is my case: I am falsely accused and I am forced in my own vindication to show that I do really believe the Scriptures and do not set them aside." Deacon then proceeds to illustrate his point by means of a curious dialogue between a "Catholic and a Sectarian," the latter of whom is supposed to take Bishop Spinckes' view of the unlawfulness of appealing to tradition. The subject of debate is the "Washing of the Disciples' feet," and the Sectarian argues that on Scriptural authority this practice ought to be preserved, and the fact that there is no traditional sanction for the practice does not weigh with him in the least. The application which Deacon desired to make is easy to be perceived. It is to the effect that to ignore tradition is to be involved in contradictions and absurdities.

It was doubtless this dialogue which suggested to

1. "The Plaintiff's Charge Disprov'd and turned upon himself by the Defendant in a Letter to the Author of no Sufficient Reason," etc.

Matthias Earbery the form of his reply which is entitled "A dialogue between Timothy a Churchman, and Thomas an Essentialist." Earbery was a non-juror of a very militant type, and attacked those of his own party with equal violence and ability. The dialogue is drawn up in a style which makes highly entertaining reading. Timothy begins by asking Thomas "What he does at that time of day : has he been playing truant ? " This style of argument might perhaps be calculated to take the wind out of an adversary's sails at the very outset, and throughout the dialogue Deacon's youthfulness is mercilessly ridiculed. Timothy accurately describes Deacon's confident and authoritative style. Referring to "Purgatory" and the "Letter" he says, "they carry that air of authority I concluded the author must be at least some dignitary of the Church." On Thomas stating that he had been in Orders for some two or three years Timothy replies, "Why thou art hardly of age yet man, there's a canon or two in the way." Thomas excuses himself from further attendance on the ground that he has a "translation on the anvil." This doubtless refers to the translation of Tillemont's "History of the Arians," published in 1721 (see Appendix A). But above all Charles Leslie's contribution to the controversy is of considerable value, and his judgment on the matter will probably be approved by those who look back upon it from a distance of 200 years. Charles Leslie (1650—1722) of Trinity College, Dublin, described by Johnson as "a reasoner who could not be reasoned against," held the chancellorship of Connor at the time of the Revolution, and on his deprivation came over to London. He was a most voluminous writer and an experienced controversialist, and in the dispute as to the Usages was perhaps the strongest opponent of the party of Collier and Brett. In a "Letter from the Reverend Charles Leslie concerning the new separation addressed to Mr. W. Bowyer," the case against the Usagers is put with

remarkable force—"Who made this separation : did they separate from you because you put Water in your Wine : or did you separate from them because they did not?" Leslie comments with some satire on the uncompromising attitude of his opponents, "The aggressor is answerable for the bloodshed on both sides : but he exhorts those whom he attacks to be sure not to strike again, because it is the second blow makes the quarrel, and it must and shall be his way, for he hates contention and speaks much of Peace, Union, Christian Love and Charity."

It must be admitted that Leslie goes straight to the essence of the controversy. If the Usagers had pleaded for the Restoration of some primitive practices they would have been on comparatively strong ground, but as a matter of fact they desired much more than mere restoration of edifying ceremonies. They held that the usages were in the highest degree essential, and hence the name "Essentialist," which Earbery gave to Deacon, may be applied without injustice to the whole party, of which Collier and Brett were the nominal heads. It cannot, however, be denied that the Usagers, however much their policy may be open to criticism, were far stronger than their opponents in point of scholarship and especially of knowledge of primitive liturgies. The immediate result of the schism in the non-juring party was the production of the new Communion office of 1718 to which some consideration must now be given.

It will have been noted that the original proposition of the Usagers was the restoration of the Liturgy which we describe as 1 Edw. VI., and that, in view of the considerable opposition which was manifested, much more moderate proposals were offered. It may, however, be doubted whether, if these proposals had been entertained, any real basis of agreement could have been found in them. Restless spirits such as Campbell and Deacon would not in all probability have been long

content with the very moderate revision of the liturgy of 1662, such as Deacon has given us in his own words quoted on page 31. But now that all hope of agreement had gone, the Usagers were free to act without any reference to their previous proposals, and the actual liturgy of which we are about to write was not by any means that of 1 Edw. VI. That liturgy was, from certain points of view, little more than the Sarum Missal translated into English, that is to say, the arrangement of the Canon was essentially Western, the only variation being the introduction of the *direct* invocation of the Holy Spirit. But the non-jurors always had their eyes turned to the East, and their liturgy was in every sense one of the Oriental type.

The present place will be appropriate for considering the extraordinary importance attached by the non-jurors to the interesting collection of ecclesiastical regulations which is known to us under the name of the "Apostolic Constitutions." The fact that the Constitutions contain the so-called Clementine Liturgy, from which the non-jurors drew so largely, is the justification for the introduction in this connection of a brief statement of the attitude of the non-jurors to this venerable collection of directions as to Christian worship. I will quote the words of John Griffin, consecrated bishop in 1722, who published in that same year "The Common Christian instructed in some necessary points of Religion." To this work Deacon wrote a postscript which is referred to in Appendix A.

"As they were at first compiled they are generally allowed to have been a collection of traditions, orders, and pastoral instructions, which the Apostles or any of them, had delivered by word of mouth to such as themselves had made Bishops and Pastors of the flock of Christ, preserved in memory by Apostolic men and committed to writing by several of them, or by such as had conversed with them. These memorials were

collected by an early, judicial, and impartial hand, and were in good repute whilst they remained in their original purity. Several learned men have with probability attributed this collection to St. Clement of Alexandria, who flourished in the second century. But whoever were the collectors of the several pieces of which this book was at first composed, the collector himself was not the author of them: the things themselves were extant before: the compiler only put the scattered pieces together in the method he thought most proper."

Deacon's own estimate of the Apostolic Constitutions is given in an Appendix to his "Compleat Devotions" in which he collected various observations by different Divines upon the subject.

"The Book called the 'Apostolic Constitutions' contains the Doctrines, Laws, and Settlements which the three first and purest centuries of the Gospel did with one consent believe, obey, and submit to, and that as derived to them from Apostolical Men; and the contents thereof may be confirmed by the consentient testimony of the Fathers of those centuries."

The above quotations may be regarded as indicating what was commonly believed concerning the Constitutions by the party of Collier, Brett, Campbell and Deacon. It may however, be well to set, side by side with these expressions of opinion, two more modern and much more balanced estimates. Hook's account in his "Church Dictionary" reads as follows—"These collections of Ecclesiastical Rules and Formularies were attributed in the early ages of the Church of Rome to St. Clement of Rome, who was supposed to have committed them to writing from the mouths of the Apostles whose words they pretend to record. The authority thus claimed for these writings has, however, been entirely disproved, and it is generally supposed by critics that they were chiefly compiled during the second and third centuries, or that at least the greater

part must be assigned to a period shortly before the first Nicene Council."

Let us now quote from the New "Catholic Encyclopædia":—

"A Fourth Century pseudo-apostolic Collection in eight books of independent, though closely related, treatises on Christian discipline, worship and doctrine, intended to serve as a manual of guidance for the clergy, and to some extent for the laity." The writer goes on to say that Canon 46 rejected all heretical baptism, and that this fact alone caused the Constitutions to be viewed with suspicion in the West, as being entirely at variance with the traditional practice of the Roman Church. It is of interest to note that while most (if not all) of the non-jurors held the invalidity of lay baptism, Archibald Campbell, Roger Laurence and Thomas Deacon carried their beliefs on this point to a great extreme, all of them of course deriving their sanction from the Canon previously mentioned.¹

It has been held by many from the time of Archbishop Ussher (d. 1656) that the Pseudo-Clement of the Constitutions is identical with the interpolator of the Ignatian Epistles. The Constitutions were quite unknown in the mediæval Western Church; in 1546 a Latin version of a text found in Crete was published, and in 1563 a complete Greek text was produced by the Jesuit father Torres. This marked the re-introduction of the work to Western Christendom.

A point to be noted about the doctrine contained in the Constitutions is that in places the tone is distinctly that of Subordinationism. It would be perfectly logical for anyone who regarded these documents from Deacon's point of view to conclude that the doctrine of the Primitive Church was Arianism, and there is a striking

1. Campbell published in 1738, under the name of Philalethes, a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on this subject: it purported to be written by a layman in communion with the English Church, and was not such as to increase the reputation of the writer.

instance of such deductions being drawn, in the person of the celebrated William Whiston (1667—1752).

The number of Whiston's writings is prodigious: it embraces various departments of mathematics and mechanics as well as patristic and apocalyptic theology. Whiston was also accustomed to deliver lectures on scientific subjects. John Byrom records the fact that he attended a lecture on "Parallaxes" on April 2nd, 1736, "and found it tedious enough."¹

No one more deeply revered the Constitutions than Whiston: he is said to have believed that they were directly dictated by the Apostles. But Whiston seized upon what may be called the Arian side of the doctrine in the Constitutions and immediately came into trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities, being deprived in 1710 of the Lucasian Professorship in which he had succeeded Newton. He afterwards resided in London, and according to John Byrom was the source of considerable amusement to his friends, who were accustomed to make a butt of him.²

In the article on Whiston, written for the Dictionary of National Biography by the late Sir Leslie Stephen, K.C.B., it is stated "that it is not improbable that Whiston was more or less in Goldsmith's mind when he wrote his masterpiece 'The Vicar of Wakefield.'" The resemblance is not, however, very striking.

The production of Whiston which is of greatest interest to us is a liturgy which he published in 1713, and is reprinted as Volume 3 of Hall's *Fragmenta Liturgica*. It is described as "The Liturgy of our Church as reduced nearer to the Primitive standard." In the preface Whiston highly praises 1 Edw. VI., and suggests the *permissive* use of that liturgy. Such proposals have frequently been made in the present day. Whiston's liturgy is practically that of 1 Edw. VI.

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. ii, p. 30.

2. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. i, pp. 495 and 546.

except that here and there traces of his Arianism are to be found, such as the omission of the preface for Trinity Sunday. There is also the insertion from the Clementine Liturgy of the ancient "Holy Things for Holy Persons" with the refrain, and the form of consecration from that liturgy is appended, apparently as an alternative. I have given the foregoing account of Whiston's liturgy as illustrating the fact that the non-jurors were not alone in suggesting some revision of the established form, and for the same reason I may perhaps be allowed to give a brief account of yet another liturgy published in 1696 by Edward Stephens, a Divine of great repute for learning, and said by Thomas Hearne "to be for the Greek rather than the Western Church." He was certainly a strongly anti-Roman controversialist, but this did not prevent him from making use of the strongest possible language in condemnation of those by whom "the true English Reformed Liturgy (1 Edw. VI.) was disordered, dismembered and defaced." Stephens' liturgy is essentially that of 1 Edw. VI.¹

It is now high time to come to that for which all that has been said in this chapter is intended to serve as introduction, namely, the non-jurors' New Communion Office, published in London in 1718. The question at once arises as to who was the principal author of this Office. The Reverend Peter Hall, the compiler of the collection of 18th Century adaptations of the Book of Common Prayer, published at Bath in 1848 under the title of *Fragmenta Liturgica*, states that in the copy in his possession is a MS. note as follows:—"Mr. Deacon drew up this form but Mr. Collier new translated the Eucharistical Thanksgiving before the words of Institution, as I have seen by a paper in Mr. (afterwards Dr.)

1. It is curious to note, concerning all the adaptations of 1 Edw. VI., that no office founded on that liturgy ever restored the Gloria in Excelsis to the position it held at the commencement of the service. That was the traditional position for this hymn in the West, but it may be said of all the revisers of the 18th century that "they were for the Greek rather than for the Western Church."

Deacon's handwriting." The volume thus annotated, writes Mr. Hall, came from the library of the late Dr. Bowdler of Swansea, and the note is probably from the pen of his father, Mr. Bowdler of Bath.

The Bowdlers, who originally sprung from Hope Bowdler in Shropshire, were an old non-juring family. Thomas Bowdler (1661—1738) was at the Admiralty at the time when the Duke of York was Lord High Admiral. His position at the Revolution was second to that of Samuel Pepys whom he followed into retirement, and he was one of the few lay non-jurors who suffered for their opinions. Thomas Bowdler was the intimate friend of Bishop Hicke who made him his executor. His eldest son, also named Thomas, was father of two sons, John and Thomas. The elder attended Bishop Gordon, the last non-juring Bishop of the regular line, at his death in 1779, and is said himself to have been the last non-juror in London. The younger son, Thomas, has immortalised the family name in his edition of Shakespeare. A branch of this family has for three generations been connected with the cotton trade at Kirkham in Lancashire, and through the kindness of the present representative of the family, R. Hope Bowdler, Esq., J.P., I have been able to see a copy of "the Life of John Bowdler with some remarks on Thomas Bowdler, by Thomas Bowdler, the younger," printed privately in 1824. Much interesting information relative to this ancient family is found in this pamphlet.

Returning now to the consideration of Hall's remarks concerning the MS. note in his copy of the Communion Office, it will be plain that the "Late Dr. Bowdler of Swansea" is the Shakesporean Editor, and that the "Mr. Bowdler of Bath" is the son of Thomas Bowdler, late of the Admiralty.

Mr. Hall justly points out that there may be two opinions as to the authenticity of this fact. Overton declares that it is absurd on the face of it to attribute the

drawing up of the liturgy to Deacon, as he was then little more than 20 years of age. It should, however, be pointed out that the "Doctrine of Purgatory," published in this same year, was undoubtedly written by Deacon, and there is therefore nothing inherently improbable or "absurd" in attributing to Deacon at least some share of the drawing up of the new Communion Office. It is perfectly true to say with Canon Overton, that whoever wrote the preface had much to do with the drawing up of the liturgy, and in the opinion of the present writer this preface is written exactly in Deacon's clear, didactic, uncompromising style. Anyone who takes the trouble to read a few consecutive chapters from Brett's "Collection of Liturgies" will perceive at once that there is in Brett's writings a tone of scholarly reserve and consideration for his opponents which is not to be found in any of Deacon's works written at this early period of his life. I venture, therefore, to think that the writer of the Life of Deacon in the "Dictionary of National Biography" is right in attributing the Office to Deacon, and the same attitude is adopted in the catalogue of the Chetham Library, in which the liturgy is placed under Deacon's name. It is not, of course, to be inferred that Collier and Brett entirely delegated the matter to Deacon. The Office, when completed, would naturally go forth under the *Imprimatur* of Collier as the chief of the non-juring bishops, and all his colleagues would at least finally revise the work, but on the whole it appears extremely probable that Deacon had the chief share in translating and drawing up the liturgy which we are now about to examine. The preface briefly describes the variations from 1 Edw. VI. which will be noticed in considering the liturgy itself. Curious reasons are given for omitting the Decalogue. Not content with pointing out that the omission was also made in 1 Edw. VI., the writer states that "the fourth Commandment looks somewhat

foreign to the Christian Religion as pointing to the observance of Saturday. As it could not well have been singly omitted it is thought fit to waive repeating the rest." The conclusion of the preface may be quoted: "Upon the whole here is nothing introduced without unexceptionable warrant: nothing of late beginning. Here is no application to Saints or Angels, no Worship of Images, no praying the dead out of Purgatory: no adoration of the consecrated elements, nothing that supposes a corporal presence either by trans- or consubstantiation¹: in short, nothing but what is primitive and agreeable to Scripture and practised by the best recommended and enlightened ages."

As to the liturgy itself I desire to illustrate what may be said of it by quotations from Brett's "Liturgies" and Deacon's "Remarks on the Reverend S. Downes' Historical Account of the several Reviews of the Liturgy of the Church of England." Mr. Downes stated "that Mr. Stephens' new Office led the way, Mr. Whiston published his reformation of the whole in 1713, and now we have Mr. Collier and Dr. Brett who, excepting his Arianism, copy from him the rest of his alterations." Deacon denies this with some warmth. Mr. Collier, he says, never saw Whiston's liturgy, and Dr. Brett had neither seen nor heard of it. This is probably true enough: all three revisers had copied not from each other but from the same source, the Apostolic Constitutions. As to the reasons why 1 Edw. VI. was not restored Dr. Brett says, "Where both these (1 Edw. VI. and the present liturgy) have departed from the practice of the Church there we thought it necessary to follow

1. This curious coupling together of the Tridentine and Lutheran definitions suggests the thought that, although the non-jurors held very advanced views as to the Eucharistic sacrifice, they not only protested very strongly against the Tridentine definition of the Sacramental Presence, but practically held the doctrine of what is sometimes called "Virtualism." Many in the present day who are in a limited sense the successors of the non-jurors, would probably consider them seriously deficient in their view of the reality of the Presence.

the much older liturgy than either of them." Brett also quotes from Collier's 'Reasons for the Restoration, etc.' "The revival of that liturgy was not the thing that was asked for but a restoration of primitive practices which had been preserved there and were abolished afterwards. These things were desired not as agreeable to the doctrine of the English Church in the beginning of King Edward's reign, otherwise than as they were also agreeable to that of the Catholic Church in the best and purest times. And the liturgy of Edward VI. was not made the standard of what we insist might be restored, but the primitive Church of the best and purest times when the government of the English Church was most pure."

The first variation in the new office, as compared with 1 Edw. VI., is the insertion of a prayer at the Offertory from the liturgy of St. Basil. The prayer of consecration immediately succeeds the *Sanctus*: the prayer for the Church, which in 1 Edw. VI. precedes, being postponed till after the consecration. The new book, however, contains, as a preface to the consecration, a recital of instances of Divine Providence, "taken paraphrastically (as the preface states) from St. James' liturgy." The opening words are "Holiness is Thy nature, etc.," the quotation being almost word for word identical with the translation of St. James' liturgy which is given by Neale and Littledale. I have found the translation by these authors of the liturgies of SS. Mark, James, Clement, Chrysostom and Basil of great help in comparing the prayers derived by the non-jurors from the Oriental liturgies with the actual liturgies themselves.

There next follows:—

1. The Recital of the Institution.
2. The Oblation.
3. The Invocation.

The two last are in the words of the Clementine liturgy and there immediately follows the prayer for the Church

in the words of 1 Edw. VI., and the rest of the service is practically identical with that liturgy.

In addition to the liturgy, properly so-called, there were published at the same time Offices for Confirmation and Visitation of the Sick. In the Confirmation Office the principal distinguishing feature is the restoration of the Sign of the Cross and the Chrism. The Bishop is directed to say: N. I sign thee with the sign of the Cross: I anoint thee with Holy Ointment.

In the Office for the Visitation of the Sick the primitive practice of Unction is to be used. The author of the preface, who is probably as already stated Thomas Deacon himself, affirms "that it is not here administered by way of Extreme Unction, but in order to recovery."

It may be noted that no mention is made in these New Offices of the custom of Infant Confirmation and Communion, and so far as I know no sanction was openly given to these practices until the publication of Deacon's "Compleat Devotions" in 1734. It is nevertheless probable that some of the Usagers desired to make these further innovations. Charles Leslie in the letter quoted on page 36 indicates that in his opinion the Usagers would eventually adopt the custom of confirming and communicating infants, which indeed proved to be the case.

Such was the liturgy which was the outcome of the strife between the opposing sections of the non-jurors. It had no long continuance: it may be doubted whether it was used anywhere after 1731-2, but in a sense it has had a permanent result. There are two living liturgies, although used in comparatively small religious communities, that of the Scottish Episcopal Church and of the Episcopal Church of the United States, which are to be traced directly to this non-juring liturgy of 1718.¹ In

1. It is possible that the same remarks may be applied to the Liturgy used by the Irvingite Community or to adopt the official title, the Catholic Apostolic Church. This Liturgy is a very complicated production, and a description of it in this place would be wholly unsuitable. It may, however, be said that it follows 1 Edw. VI. more closely than the Liturgy of 1718, but in many points it differs from both.

both of these liturgies the component parts of the prayer of consecration are arranged exactly on the plan of the liturgy of 1718, viz., firstly, the Recital of the Institution; secondly, the solemn Oblation; thirdly, the Invocation of the Holy Spirit. This order is essentially Oriental, and it may be of some interest to point out that a Church planted in the far West possesses a liturgy framed in accordance with the liturgies of the ancient East, and that in this sense the Usagers of 1716-18 have left behind them some permanent memorial.

There is to be found in the Library at Sion College a most interesting Non-jurors' Prayer-book, from which it is evident that Collier and Brett, on the establishment of the definite schism which followed the introduction of the liturgy of 1718, drew up and authorized a complete Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments for the use of their section of the non-juring body. The inscription on the title page (which is described as a copy) is as follows:—

"We Jeremy Collier and Thomas Brett, Bishops of the Catholic Church in England do hereby with the unanimous consent of our brethren the priests then present receive and appoint this book (with the several insertions and deletions) to be our book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the Church: given under our hands this eleventh day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and nineteen.

Signed Jer: Collier.
 Thos. Brett.

Witnesses :—

A. CAMPBELL.
Geo. Brown.
Roger Laurence.
Thos. Deacon.
John Rutter.
Thomas Wagstaffe.

N.B.—The original of this and of the book above mentioned annexed are in the hands of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Wagstaffe, as Keeper of our original Church Registers.”

The book itself consists of a portion of an English Prayer-book of the time of William the Third and of the new offices for Holy Communion and Confirmation bound together in one volume. In the first portion everything is as in the Book of Common Prayer down to the end of the Collects, Epistles and Gospels. At this point is introduced the new Communion office. The order of Baptism in the Prayer Book is not amended in any way, but the Confirmation office is not that provided in the Book of Common Prayer, but the form devised by the Usagers in 1718; the office for the Visitation of the Sick is altered with the purpose of introducing Unction as described above, but the remaining offices are as they are found in the Book of Common Prayer.

“The deletions” referred to are naturally concerned with the names of the King and Royal Family. These are carefully erased, but the names of the “exiled family” are not inserted. There are other slight alterations, as for example in the Ordinal, the words “According to the Order of the Church of England” are altered to “The Catholic Church in England.” The Book in Sion College Library from which I have drawn these particulars was the property of Roger Laurence, and was presented to Sion College on the 3rd of May, 1814, by the Rev. George Gaskin, Rector of St. Benet’s Gracechurch, and St. Leonard’s, Eastcheap, and of St. Mary’s, Stoke Newington.

From a further note made (apparently by Roger Laurence) on the first page, it would appear that the book had been carefully compared with the standard book in the possession of Mr. Wagstaffe and had been found to agree with the original in all respects. A statement to this effect is signed by Roger Laurence and

witnessed by John Clarke and James Linfield,¹ on the 24th and 31st days of July, 1732. The Rev. P. Hall in *Fragmenta Liturgica* (general introduction, pages 38 and 39) gives a very misleading and confused account of this book and of the inscription upon it. He states that Thomas Deacon's signature was to a document protesting against any further alterations. It will, I think, be clear that Deacon's name is simply attached as a witness to the authorization of the Book by Collier and Brett in 1719.

Nothing more is known of Thomas Deacon's life in London : with the exception of a brief interval, which is noticed in Chapter VI., the remainder of his days was spent in Manchester, to which town he removed shortly after the events which have been related in this chapter. In 1721 he published a translation of Tillemont's "History of the Arians." It is doubtful whether at this time Deacon was residing in London or Manchester, but all that is actually known of his life in the Metropolis has now been related, and for the remainder of this memoir the scene will be laid in Manchester.

1. Clarke and Linfield are connected with a curious incident in Deacon's later ecclesiastical life (see pp. 138 and 139).

CHAPTER IV.

Deacon's Removal to Manchester: Short Account of Manchester in 1720: John Byrom's "Private Journal and Literary Remains."

A BRIEF description of the town of Manchester in the early years of the 18th Century may be considered a necessary preface to the story of Deacon's life in the North, and at the outset it is well to remember that the "North" in 1720 connotes very different ideas from those which are now suggested by the mention of the names of the Counties of Lancashire and Yorkshire. "The voice of the North" was in 1720 little more than a whisper. According to Stukeley the antiquarian, who visited the town in 1724, Manchester "is the largest, most rich and busy *village* in England. Here are about 2,400 families, and their trade, which is incredibly large, consists of fustians, tickings, girth webbs, and tapes, which are dispensed all over the Kingdom and to Foreign parts." The population on the basis of 2,400 families might be calculated at about 12,000 people, which would certainly include Salford, and according to Mr. Axon¹ probably the entire Parish of Manchester. In the year 1757 the population of the two towns had risen to 20,000: in 1783 to 40,000, and at the first census in 1801 to 90,000. It will be seen that in the early years of the 18th Century the town and district of Manchester were about to enter upon a rapid stage of development. The statement of Stukeley as to the size of the trade of Manchester will attract the eye of the modern reader,

1. "Annals of Manchester," p. 79.

and there can be no doubt that in proportion to the population the trade of the town was very considerable.

It may be said that Manchester had been for some generations the natural centre of a manufacturing district. The processes of spinning and weaving were carried on in the homes of the people; the spinning-wheel was commonly to be seen by the fireside of small cottages, and looms worked by hand were to be found in farm houses or the larger dwellings. Occupation was provided for many people in the trades of fulling, bleaching, and dyeing, and as the town of Manchester was from very early times regarded as the centre for the distribution of the finished goods, it is easy to see that the trade of the town would assume very considerable proportions.

It is perhaps necessary to point out that although the term "Manchester Cottons" was in use to describe the products of Manchester in the 16th, 17th, and early part of the 18th Centuries, the goods were actually made of woollen. The cotton trade, as we now know it, can hardly be said to have commenced before the end of the 18th century. In a preface written by Mr. Axon to a pamphlet entitled "Manchester, a hundred years ago, being a reprint of a description of Manchester by a native of the town, James Ogden, published in 1783," there is to be found an amusing account of the fact that when in 1784 eight bags of cotton came from America to Liverpool the custom house authorities detained them, being sure that they had not grown there. In 1774 an Act of Parliament passed to regulate the sale of cotton products refers to the fact that "a *new* manufacture of stuffs wholly made of raw cotton wool hath been lately set up within this kingdom."

The principal building of the town was the Collegiate Church then, as now, known as the "old" church. The appellation "old" does not however convey to us exactly the same meaning as it did to our forefathers, who used

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it in distinction to the new Church of St. Ann which was consecrated in 1712. In the diary of Harrold the Manchester Wig Maker, which is to be found in "Manchester Collectanea," edited by Harland for the Chetham Society, our journalist describes his attendance at religious service as varying between the "old" church and St. Ann's.

The College of Manchester was founded by the munificence of Thomas Lord de la Warre, and received its charter on the 1st of May in the ninth year of King Henry V. The first foundation lasted to the year 1547, but a series of rapid changes followed until 30th of September, 1635, when the College was refounded and it is commonly styled in our period "the College of Manchester founded by King Charles." The Church was within the Diocese of Chester, the Bishop being, by virtue of his office, Visitor of the College. The Government of the Church was assigned to a Warden and four Fellows, the first Warden of the new foundation being Richard Heyrick (1600—1667), who owed his appointment to certain money transactions between James the First and Sir William Heyrick, father of the Warden. During the troubles of the Commonwealth Heyrick became a zealous Presbyterian, and a great organiser of Presbyterian discipline throughout Lancashire. He was consistently loyal to the King, conformed in 1662, and although efforts were made from time to time to eject him, he remained in office until his death in 1667. The most distinguished of the ejected ministers was Henry Newcome to whom some further slight reference will be made.

Nicholas Stratford was the next Warden and from that time the influence of Commonwealth times may be said to have ceased. Stratford was a Tory and High Churchman and preached the doctrine of non-resistance in very decided tones. "A humble man leaves it to his government to determine what it to be imposed and

thinks himself only concerned to obey, and if it sometimes happens that he is not able to discover the nature of a law, he still questions not but there is sufficient reason for it: his superiors (as standing upon higher ground) are able to see farther than he can."¹ Stratford was nevertheless a man of conciliatory temper and was greatly alarmed at the policy of James II. In 1684 he resigned and remained in retirement until 1689 when he was consecrated to the See of Chester, thus becoming the Diocesan and Visitor of the Church of which he was formerly Warden.

Richard Wroe (1641—1718) "the silver-tongued," a native of Radcliffe, and Fellow of the Collegiate Church from 1675, succeeded Stratford as Warden in 1684. He was sincerely attached to the principles of the Revolution and found no difficulty in supporting the new dynasty during the short period which elapsed between the Accession of George I. and his own death on 1st January, 1718.

But the period of unquestioning adherence to the Revolution was now passing away and from this time onwards the influence of the Jacobite party in Manchester was supreme. Sir William Dawes succeeded to Chester in 1707 and on his translation to the primatial See of York in 1714 was succeeded at Chester by Francis Gastrell who at the time of which we are now writing (1720) was engaged in a prolonged and acrimonious dispute concerning the nomination, on July 1st, 1718, of Samuel Peploe to the Wardenship of Manchester in succession to Richard Wroe.

This account of Manchester must not be closed without a brief mention of the two foundations of Humphrey Chetham, the Hospital and Library, to both

1. From the introduction to Dr. Stratford's "Dissuasive from Revenge" addressed to the inhabitants of Manchester and Salford. Quoted by Dr. Hibbert-Ware in "Foundations in Manchester," Vol. ii, p. 16.

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of which institutions his name is attached. The name of the College, commonly given to the building within which both Hospital and Library are contained, keeps in memory the fact that it was formerly the residence of the Wardens and Fellows of the Collegiate Church, being purchased and applied to its present use under the will made by Humphrey Chetham in 1651. The College was dedicated to its two-fold purpose on the 5th of August, 1656. The Free Library, which is of some interest to the present memoir, has for 250 years opened its doors to all comers, and it will be seen that there gathered within its walls in the early years of the Eighteenth Century a friendly company of which Thomas Deacon was by no means an undistinguished member.

It may be noted finally that Stukeley describes Manchester as a 'village,' which refers to the fact that the town had no Corporation, but was in the words of James Ogden 'only a market town governed by constables.' The same writer was of opinion that 'nothing could be more fatal to its trading interest than if it should be incorporated and have representation in Parliament.' These two evils were postponed for many years after the period with which we are concerned. Representation in Parliament was not granted until 1832 and the Incorporation of the town was deferred until 1838.

During these early years of the eighteenth century the influence of the Tory party had been steadily growing in Manchester, and the number of those who were at least favourably disposed to the exile family was not by any means inconsiderable. At the same time the power of the Presbyterian party steadily declined.

The causes to which the revival of Toryism and Jacobitism in Manchester is to be attributed afford an interesting matter of speculation, and the present writer has not seen any entirely satisfactory explanation. The

three reasons given by Dr. Hibbert-Ware¹ are not very convincing. They may be summarised as follows:—

- I. The influence of the Tory ministries of Queen Anne.
- II. The fact that many of the younger members of the best families found occupation in the trade of the district instead of drifting up to London.
- III. The influence of the doctrines preached from the pulpit of the 'Old Church.'

The second reason appears very fanciful but there may be an element of truth in the third. The population of the town, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, clustered round the old church to an extent which is now difficult to be imagined. James Ogden refers to a walk which he took round the boundaries of the town in 1780, from which we can obtain some idea of the narrow limits within which Manchester was confined, even at a period 60 years later than that which we are immediately considering. He begins at the "gate which leads into Castlefield," walks through the fields to Booth Street, notices that the whole land from that spot to Market Street Lane is built up except "Brown's Hall," and proceeds to the new Infirmary where the River Tib formed the boundary of the town in that direction. He then goes by Shudehill and Miller's Lane to Long Millgate where the Irk crossed by Scotland Bridge formed another boundary. On the left of Miller's Lane Ogden notices the Workhouse Buildings, which were the cause of a famous controversy to which we shall refer. Crossing the Irk by a wooden bridge leading to Hunt's Bank, he arrives at the Salford boundary and proceeds along Deansgate to his starting point at Castlefield.

We shall now perhaps be able to see that the little

1. "Foundations in Manchester," Vol. ii, pp. 69 and 70.

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town of Manchester in 1720 was simply built around the walls of the old Collegiate Church, and it is easy to believe that the influence of the Church over the life of the community was of much greater extent than can readily be imagined at the present day. There is no shadow of doubt that for a long series of years the chapter house of the old Church was occupied by those whose attachment to their Whig governors was of a very lukewarm description. The abortive trial of the Jacobites in 1694, the excitement aroused by the Sacheverell trial in 1709, the riots in celebration of the Pretender's birthday in 1715, which culminated in the wrecking of the Chapel in Cross Street which had been built for Henry Newcome, may be regarded as marking different stages in the progress of the Jacobite Revival, and may perhaps help us to understand why Thomas Deacon should choose Manchester for his new home and sphere of influence. Nothing is really known of the reasons which moved Deacon to this choice beyond those which I have ventured to suggest, but it may be believed that in addition to what I may call "political reasons" Deacon had hopes that in Manchester he would be able to make for himself a name in the medical profession, and in this aspiration at least he was not disappointed.

Our knowledge of Deacon's life in Manchester is almost entirely derived from the "Private Journal and Literary Remains" of John Byrom, and a brief notice of this distinguished member of the community of Manchester must here be inserted. John Byrom, poet, stenographer, and mystic, the son of Edward Byrom, linen-draper of Manchester, was born at Kersal Cell in 1691. The Byroms of Manchester were a younger branch of the Byroms of Salford, and they in turn of the original Byroms of Byrom in the Parish of Winwick. John Byrom was entered at Merchant Taylors' School in 1701, proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1708, of which College he was Fellow from 1714—1716. He

was intended for Holy Orders, on which subject a very affecting letter from his father is recorded in his Remains.¹ But the idea was abandoned probably on account of his scruples concerning the oaths. Byrom had however, not the slightest hesitation about conforming to the English Church, to which indeed he was most warmly attached. In 1716 he travelled on the Continent, where he remained for some time. Dr. A. W. Ward, in his edition of "Poems of John Byrom" (Chetham Society), Volume 1, page 9, says "that there is every reason to believe that this journey had a political object," and in the Remains of John Byrom, Volume 1, page 34, there is appended in a note a similar statement. "There is a mystery about Byrom's movements at this period on which there are no papers to throw any light. There can be little doubt that politics had much to do with this concealment."

We know as a matter of fact that Byrom actually visited the Pretender at Avignon. The information is given by Byrom himself in recording a conversation which he had with William Law in Somerset Gardens on August 1st, 1739.²

"He (Law) said that they talked of the Pretender's coming, was I not afraid of it? I said No, not at all, and he talked in his favour—and as we came away gave him (the father) a most excellent character for experience, wisdom, and piety. I said that I saw him once: he said, Where? I said, at A(vignon). He said, did you kiss hands? I said, Yes, and parted."

During this sojourn on the Continent Byrom studied medicine at Montpellier, but never practised although he was commonly styled Dr. Byrom.

One of his letters written from Montpellier is of interest as showing a much more tolerant attitude to the Roman Church than was commonly felt by the average English-

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. i, p. 12.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 259.

man of the 18th Century. "For my part I have been at Mass several times, and for what external ceremonies there are I see nothing to fright one from it, nor indeed from any way of communion with 'em, if they would excuse one from believing so-and-so. For outward pomp and magnificence they far outdo us, though perhaps in our way of worship we have retrenched what bears too much upon excess in theirs."¹

I do not of course mean to imply that Byrom had any serious inclination towards communion with the Roman Church, but this frank expression of tolerant feeling is, I submit, somewhat interesting and contrasts forcibly not only with the traditional English suspicion of all things Roman, but also the dogmatic and confident tone in which Thomas Deacon was accustomed to attack Roman theology.

In 1721 John Byrom married his first cousin, Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph Byrom, and was for some time in comparatively straitened circumstances, under pressure of which he spent much time in London inventing, perfecting, and teaching a system of shorthand for which in his own day he was principally famous, although he is now known almost exclusively as the author of "Christians, Awake."² Byrom's life for a number of years was so closely related to that of Deacon that to a large extent the same biography may be said to serve for both, and it will be convenient at this point to insert a brief notice of the "Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byrom," edited by the late Canon Parkinson, for the Chetham Society in 1854-7.

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. i, p. 40.

2. This statement may require some qualification. With regard to Lancashire in particular and the North of England as a whole, it is doubtless correct to say that Byrom is now chiefly remembered by his Christmas hymn; but in the South it is probable that his name is more immediately associated with the verse "God bless the King—God bless the Faith's Defender, etc." Although "Christians Awake" is sung wherever the English tongue is spoken the name of the composer may very possibly not be remembered outside his native county.

The story of the production of this Journal is worth telling. Canon Parkinson, having the privilege of the acquaintance of Miss Atherton, great grand-daughter of John Byrom, discovered at Kersal Cell and at the family house in Quay Street, large quantities of written material and secured the consent of Miss Atherton for its publication. It was found that much of it was written in Byrom's shorthand which was almost forgotten, but through the diligence of a lady member of Miss Atherton's household, the whole was deciphered, and the result is a Journal which is worthy to be compared with that of Pepys, or Evelyn. It is perhaps a dangerous thing to enter upon comparisons, but there is a certain similarity to be noticed between the diaries of Evelyn and Byrom, both from the religious and political standpoint. A study of Byrom's Journal will confirm the estimate of Dr. A. W. Ward¹ that in Byrom are to be found "among other rare and exquisite qualities a high moral conscientiousness and a profound tenderness of heart, which, when blended together, suffice of themselves to lift a man above the multitude."

This Journal is sadly neglected by many in Byrom's native city, but to a writer of a memoir of Deacon it is absolutely indispensable. The story of Deacon's life in Manchester, without the aid of this Journal, would be nothing more than a bare recital of dates and facts, but we have by means of Byrom's writings the power to present Deacon as one of a considerable number of intimate friends, and upon this task we enter in the succeeding chapter.

1. Dr. Ward's *Poems of John Byrom*, Introduction, p. 5.

CHAPTER V.

Deacon's Social Life in Manchester: 1720-45.

THE date of Deacon's arrival in Manchester is usually given as 1719-20, probably on account of Owen's statement in "Dr. Deacon try'd," quoted on page 200, in Appendix B. "In 1719 or 20, it is certain you practised physic in Manchester." There is no mention of Deacon in Byrom's Journal before the year 1723, and I incline to the view that Deacon did not leave London until 1721 or 2. Deacon married about this time, but the date is not known, and the lady's family name has not been preserved: her Christian name was Sarah, as recorded on the tombstone in St. Ann's Churchyard. We do, however, know that she was a native of London. John Byrom refers on more than one occasion to Dr. Deacon's father-in-law, but unfortunately does not name him. It appears probable that he lived in Clerkenwell or Stepney, and it is certain that he was alive in the year 1739, in which year his daughter Sarah Deacon paid him a visit, taking with her three boys and a girl. From certain indications to be found in Byrom's Journal I have formed the opinion that Mrs. Deacon's father may possibly have been a medical man, but this is little more than conjecture.

The eldest child of this marriage, Thomas Theodorus, is said to have been 22 years of age at the time of the Rebellion in 1745,¹ and we may therefore venture to fix the date of the marriage about the year 1722. Whether Deacon brought his bride with him to Manchester on the occasion of his first visit to the North, or whether he returned to bring the lady to the home which he was

1. Lathbury's "History of the Non-Jurors," p. 389.

able to provide, is a question which cannot now be determined. We do, however, know with certainty, that the house in which Deacon lived was next door to the "Dog and Partridge Inn, in Fennel Street.¹ This, the only residence in Manchester with which Deacon's name is associated, was within a stone's throw of the Collegiate Church, of the Chetham Library, and of the house of his most intimate friend John Byrom which stood at the bottom of Hanging Ditch. Byrom's letters to his wife were usually addressed to Mrs. Elizabeth Byrom, by the Great Church, Manchester, Lancashire.

In the present chapter I shall endeavour to describe Deacon's social life down to the outbreak of the troubles of the '45, leaving his medical career, and his ecclesiastical career as a non-juring priest and bishop, to be dealt with in the two succeeding chapters.

We have no record of the beginning of the friendship between Deacon and Byrom, but the first mention of Deacon in the Journal is found in a letter written from London to Mrs. Byrom on November 10th, 1723. Byrom had just returned to London after one of his brief visits to his family in Manchester, and speaks of reading "Dr. Deacon's Book, which I had left here it seems."² From the tone of the letter it would appear that Deacon's name was already familiar, and from now onwards it is seldom absent from Byrom's letters. The book referred to may have been Deacon's "Purgatory,"

1. The "Dog and Partridge Inn" is now known as "The Douglas." The change of name was made in the year 1886. For some years previous to this date the inn was in bad repute for disorderly conduct, and the change of name was apparently made with the purpose of "making a fresh start." Deacon's house stood immediately below the inn. Dr. Shaw, in "Manchester Old and New" (p. 13), gives a reproduction of a drawing of the house. It was a substantial structure with a double-front. With regard to John Byrom's house, it is not an easy matter to define the exact situation, but it certainly faced Hanging Ditch on the side nearest to the Exchange, and the back premises probably opened on to Hunter's Lane. Dr. Shaw (p. 21) states that the house was in Hanging Ditch, between Hunter's Lane and Old Millgate.

2. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. i, p. 60.

but I hazard the suggestion that it may more probably have been the "translation" of Tillemont's History of the Arians, which is one of Deacon's least known works, and was published in 1721. In May of the next year, 1724, Byrom was in Manchester, and records a visit paid to him by Dr. Deacon, and in the succeeding year, 17²⁴₂₅, we have a series of very interesting records.

On the 4th January in that year Byrom mentions a visit to Deacon in his own house, and on the 6th (Twelfth Night) the two friends with others were present at an oyster supper at the house of the Rev. Thomas Cattell, afterwards Fellow of the Collegiate Church. Deacon, it may be noted, was no ascetic, but on the contrary appeared to enjoy thoroughly friendly intercourse with men of varied schools of thought. This supper at Cattell's house is the first intimation of the friendship which existed between Deacon and the Clergy of the Collegiate Church, which was a very marked feature of his life in Manchester. The Rev. Thomas Cattell, the host on this occasion, demands a passing notice. He was of All Souls and New Inn Hall, Oxford, where he took the M.A. degree in 1715. In 1731 he became Chaplain of the Collegiate Church, in succession to the Rev. R. Assheton, and Fellow in 1735 in succession to Rev. Roger Bolton. He was the constant friend of Deacon and Byrom, and on his death in 1745 a so-called discovery was made of an extraordinary letter amongst his papers. (See page 128.)

During this visit to Manchester Byrom had evidently been reading the mutual fulminations of Archbishop Bramhall and Hobbes, the philosopher of Malmesbury. There had been great discussions with Mr. Cattell and other friends concerning "second causes." Mrs. Byrom took the opportunity of giving some wifely advice as to the impropriety of talking about such matters in public. "That Dr. Deacon had told of some expressions of mine that made people think I was an

atheist or something of that nature—I did not believe Dr. Deacon would say any such thing.”¹ Byrom had possibly been taking in argument the part of the philosopher, as against the bishop.

Under the date of September 1st, 1725, a few days later than the last quotation, Byrom has preserved for us a most interesting record already referred to on page 18. “Dr. Deacon came after 7 o’clock and stayed till 11 or past, played at chess, and I beat him all but one game: he smoked a pipe, we had a good deal of talk about religious matters: he told me of his making Hall and Paul’s speeches.” It is tantalising to have such a brief record of this conversation. What would one not give for some detailed account of the talk “on religious matters?” Here we have two men both deeply religious and interested in the study of primitive Christianity, both (to a large extent at least) of one mind as to the authority of primitive tradition, and yet the one devoted to the English Church, and the other a leading spirit in a schism which repudiated the authority of that Church. If we could have heard Deacon’s talk it is just possible that he would have found some way of partial mitigation of the severe judgment which he publicly passed on the English Church and on all those who still conformed to her. We may here quote a rhyme of Byrom, not because of its merits, for truth to tell it has none, but because it was evidently written after one of the many games of chess which were played between the two friends.

“ Checkmate, dear Doctor ! Well I do profess
It is an admirable game, this chess.
A sweet device : whoever found it out,
He was a clever fellow without doubt.”

We obtain a very pleasing view of the lighter side of Deacon’s life in connection with Byrom’s system of

1. Byrom’s “Remains,” Vol. i, p. 177.

shorthand, and as we are not in the present chapter bound to strict chronological order, we may give some quotations from letters which passed between Deacon and Byrom on this subject, during a period of ten to fifteen years.

Byrom first mentions shorthand in a letter written from Trinity College, Cambridge, 14th July, 1715.¹ The matter must have been constantly in his mind, and on 27th May, 1723, the first proposals for printing and publishing a new method of shorthand were issued. Byrom had the faculty of collecting around himself a vast number of friends and acquaintances, and all whom he could interest in his shorthand system were formed into a society. Byrom himself was styled "Grand Master" and deputies were appointed in various parts of the country to further the scheme, to whom was assigned the title of "Warden." Deacon appears to have thrown himself into the scheme with the greatest energy, and became Byrom's "Warden" at Manchester. He constantly addresses Byrom as "Dear Grand Master," and signs himself as "Your dutiful Warden," and on one occasion playfully conveys "Mrs. Warden's kind remembrances."² It would be possible to give many quotations of this kind from Byrom's Journal, but I will content myself with a short description of what must have been a humorous scene which took place at a meeting of the Manchester Branch of the Shorthand Society held on Friday, 30th August, 1728. The member who acted as President on this occasion had appeared in a "black Bob" instead of the usual "white Tie-Wig." For an account of the difference between these two head-dresses (which both sound sufficiently uncomfortable) the reader may be referred to Dr. A. W. Ward's "Poems of Byrom," in which is contained a copy of the "Verses spoken extempore" at this meeting,

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. 1, p. 32.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 497.

with some interesting comments from the pen of Dr. Ward himself.¹

Byrom appears to have delivered some verses extempore, which he afterwards reduced to writing at the request of Mr. Leycester of Toft Hall. The main idea of the poem is that something must be seriously wrong with the President, and various members of the Society are addressed in turn, and asked for their opinion. Joseph Clowes, the lawyer, so often mentioned in Byrom's Journal, and Thomas Cattell, are addressed by the composer of the poem, but the verse which is spoken to Deacon will be of most interest to us.

" You, Master Doctor, will you try
Your skill in Physiognomy?
Of what disease is it a symptom?
Don't look at me, but look at him, *Tom*.

Is it not scurvy think you? Yes,
If anything be scurvy, 'tis.
A Phrenzy or a Periwigmanie,
That over-runs his Pericranie."

Dr. Ward, somewhat laboriously, as it appears to me, attempts to refer the name *Tom* to the Rev. T. Cattell or the Rev. T. Heyward. It is surely a familiar abbreviation of Deacon's Christian name.

During the whole of the time in which Byrom was engaged in perfecting his system of shorthand he was greatly opposed by a very active teacher of a rival system in the person of James Weston of Edinburgh. Byrom records that on 7th December, 1727, Deacon very strongly urged him to write against Weston's book.²

New proposals for publishing the system were printed and issued on 1st November, 1739, and for some time previous to this date, negotiations had been conducted

1. *Poems of John Byrom*, Vol. i, p. 94.

2. Byrom's "*Remains*," Vol. ii, p. 277.

between Byrom and many of his friends, in which David Hartley, the metaphysician, took a prominent part, but for our purpose the following letter from Deacon will most deserve attention.¹

“ 24th May, 1737.

“ Much honoured Grand Master,

I am very glad to hear that your Shorthand majesty is resolved to show yourself to the world and no longer to keep up the state of an Eastern Monarch. And since you are pleased to desire the advice of your loving subjects, I humbly offer to your Highness that you would draw up separate lists of those of your subjects whom you may suppose to have the most influence and authority, and have their names printed at the bottom of the certificate you sent from London : so that I would have a certificate of the properest names for London, another for the Universities, together or separate, and another for the North country. For if all your recommenders should be put together, behold the number ! Who would read them ? Besides, who will mind the names that they know nothing of ? And who can tell but the paltry one of Deacon may do more execution in Lancashire than the great one of Hoadley (sic) ? You understand my meaning and therefore think about it.”

Deacon then proceeds to discuss various descriptions of type for the printing of shorthand, which shows that he had some amount of technical knowledge of the subject, and concludes :

“ But I only hint these things to your Majesty's deliberate consideration and sublime judgment, and desire that with an account of your proceedings you will dignify the person and exhilarate the heart of your Majesty's humble deputy and dutiful Warden,
T. D.”

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. ii, p. 170.

The list of Byrom's "recommenders" which was eventually published is well worth reading. It contains the names of the Rev. T. Cattell, Fellow of Manchester; the Rev. Mr. John Clayton, Curate of Salford; Joseph Clowes, Esq.; Doctor Thomas Deacon, of Manchester; Lord Delawarr; Dr. D. Hartley; Sir Darcy Lever, LL.D., and the Rev. Mr. Charles Wesley, whose name is not in the popular mind usually associated with shorthand. A letter from Charles Wesley to John Byrom on this subject may perhaps close this brief description of Byrom's system of shorthand. It is dated 25th September, 1737, and is written in cypher.

"An uninterrupted hurry has prevented my writing sooner. I am forced to borrow a piece of Sunday. Next week I return to Oxford and will then find time to look about for subscribers. Between 20 and 30 have given in their names. The printing your proposals would bring in great numbers and give me an opportunity of trying my interest before I leave England. Dr. Richardson (Master of Emmanuel), and others of your Cambridge friends take it a little ill that they hear nothing of the proposal from you. People, I much believe, would come generally into it, was there any time, however distant, mentioned, wherein the thing would probably be published. You will pardon my troubling you with my impertinent memoranda—My very humble services to all friends in Manchester, Mr. Clayton in particular—I have only time to desire your prayers for your obliged and affectionate—

CHARLES WESTLEY."¹

1. Many interesting notes could be made on this letter, but a few lines must suffice. In the first place, I greatly suspect the spelling of the name of "Wesley" with a "t." So far as I know, this spelling was never adopted by either John or Charles Wesley, although it was frequently used by their friends. It is to be remembered that the letter was written in shorthand, and the error may have been made by the transcriber. The allusion to the departure from England refers to

In 1742 Byrom obtained an Act of Parliament assigning to him the sole right of publishing his method for a period of 21 years, but as he succeeded to his family estates in 1740 the necessity for advertising the system had disappeared.

We now turn to the consideration of Deacon's personal relations with the Clergy of Manchester, concerning which information in Byrom's Journal is by no means lacking. Mention has already been made of a bitter dispute which arose on the nomination of Samuel Peploe to the Wardenship of Manchester in 1718. Samuel Peploe (1668—1752), the life-long opponent of Deacon and Byrom, was Vicar of Preston in 1715, and is said to have earned the special approbation of George I. for continuing to pray "for the Hanoverian usurper" in spite of the threats of the rebels. George I. is reported to have said, "Peeplow is he called? but he shall peep high, I will make him a bishop." This is one of those stories which *ought* to be true, but it may be doubted whether the acquaintance of George I. with the English language was such as to enable him to make bad jokes in it. Peploe's advancement however was not long in coming. On his nomination to Manchester he obtained from Archbishop Wake the degree of B.D., which was required by the Statutes. Bishop Gastrell declined to confirm the appointment, really on political grounds, but nominally on the ground that Lambeth Degrees were not equal to those obtained from the Universities and were not contemplated by the Statutes. The matter was carried to the King's Bench where the power of the Archbishop to grant degrees was acknowledged, and

Charles Wesley's intended return to Georgia, which did not, however, take place. As to Wesley's connection with Byrom's shorthand, the following quotation from the new edition of John Wesley's "Journal" (Curnock, London, 1909), introduction, p. 4, note, may be of interest:—"Charles Wesley was an expert writer of Byrom's shorthand. In Georgia he insisted on his brother's adoption of the system as a protection against unscrupulous tamperers with their correspondence."

A full account of John Wesley's curious "cypher" is to be found on p. 71 of the same work.

Peploe was duly installed in Manchester. He was, however, for the time being quite helpless as his colleagues and the Episcopal Visitor were his bitter and determined opponents. Roger Bolton (appointed 1699—1700), Robert Assheton (1703-4), and John Copley (1708), Fellows of the Collegiate Church at this date, were all bitterly hostile to Peploe's ecclesiastical and political views. Bolton held the curacy of Gorton, in which he was succeeded by the Rev. W. Burkitt, who held similar principles. Robert Assheton came of the branch of that family which had been long settled in Salford, and a further acrimonious dispute arose in connection with his son, Richard Assheton, who was afterwards Fellow. John Copley, of Trinity College, Cambridge, had been of some assistance to Byrom in his undergraduate days, and was perhaps the strongest personal opponent of Peploe. The epithet which he is said to have habitually applied to "that Warden" may perhaps be imagined but left unwritten.

During the dispute concerning the Wardenship the Rev. Richard Assheton had been appointed by Bishop Gastrell to act as Chaplain of the Collegiate Church, and had served in the office for some years. But in November, 1725, Gastrell died and it may be imagined that there would be considerable dismay in Manchester when it was known that the new Bishop was to be no other than Samuel Peploe. Thomas Hearne expresses the opinion "that this was done to insult the ashes of Bishop Gastrell," and there can be no doubt that this opinion was generally endorsed in Manchester. Byrom writes on January 18th, 1726: "Writ to Mrs. Byrom that Mr. Peplo was chosen Bishop." The letter read as follows: "Mr. Peplo kist his Majesty's fist for the Bishopric of Chester and Wardenship of Manchester on Sunday. . . . This piece of news will I suppose raise much speculation in our country."¹ It certainly did.

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. i, p. 192.

Peploe, at a meeting of the Chapter, endeavoured to dispense with Richard Assheton and to nominate a Mr. Whittaker. The Chapter however declined to agree. This matter also was carried to the King's Bench, and in the end Mr. Assheton's case was upheld as against the bishop.

It does not appear, at first sight, that Deacon had any particular right to interfere in this dispute which was concerned with the discipline of a Church whose communion he had renounced. The fact is, however, that the Fellows of Manchester, although they might differ from Deacon with regard to some of his extreme theories, were quite conscious that in Bishop Peploe they and Deacon had a common enemy, and in the contest which took place Deacon certainly lent the Chapter some valuable assistance. There are two letters of his extant written to Byrom in this connection, and as they may be of some interest from more points of view than one, I append them in this place.

The first is dated 6th December, 1726. It is much too long to quote in full, but some extracts may be given.

" Dear Grand Master,

I should have written to you before but Mr. Cattell scribbled last week and gave you some account of matters. I thank you for all your wit, nonsense, trumpery information, etc. In reply you must expect nothing but plain downright Lancashire stuff from me."

Then follows a description of the Bishop suspending Mr. Assheton for preaching without a license. " But a petition was drawn up, signed by the Borough-Reeve, Church-wardens, and many inhabitants and presented last Saturday, to which the Bishop said he would consider of it for some days. Yesterday he sent word to the old Church that he would go there to-day (for it

is above a fortnight since he was there), and answer the petition, which accordingly he did by tearing it in pieces, and saying it was signed by non-jurors, (though neither I, as you imagine, nor I believe any other had anything to do with it) scoundrels and people that have no families—I doubt not but the King's Bench will demolish Pope *Hildebrand Firebrand*, and we will blow him up, mortify him and break his heart."

The letter concludes with an account of the Bishop's formal answer delivered from his stall, the concluding words of which may be quoted. "And whereas the petition desired him to heal the bleeding wounds of the Church, he was surprised at it, for who had been the cause of them? That he was ready to do anything to heal them—bleeding wounds indeed! But they are owing to the wicked lives of many who profess themselves members of this Church, and to the scandalous lives of some of the Clergy, at which word he stared at Mr. Copley."¹

The second letter, unlike all others quoted in this work, is not to be found in Byrom's "Remains" but is taken from Raines' "Fellows of Manchester." It is dated 21st December, 1726.

"Dear Grand Master,

By this post there will go to Sir John Bland² in Golden Square, a petition to the Archbishop of York that Mr. Assheton may be restored, together with a certificate signed by the gentry, clergy, and inhabitants of this place and neighbourhood. Now you are desired to be one of the presenters, being a Manchester man, that if the Archbishop should make any enquiry you may give him some account of the affair. In order to this you are to go to Mr. Harbin, a non-juring

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. i, p. 234.

2. M.P. for the County of Lancaster.

clergyman and brother-in-law with Mr. Copley, to consult with him, who is preacquainted that you will come to him, that it may be presented as soon as possible. He lives over against Mr. Foubert's Academy in King Street, near Golden Square. You are desired to go to him forthwith. He is a learned man, and of great acquaintance, and I believe you will be glad when you know him upon other accounts. You may if you will make use of my name to him for I believe he has not forgotten me."

George Harbin, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, was indeed a "learned man." He was Chaplain to Bishop Turner of Ely, following the same course as Turner in refusing to take the oaths. He afterwards became Librarian to Viscount Weymouth and was an intimate friend of Bishop Ken. In "Notes and Queries," Series 2, Vol. I., page 489, there is to be found an account of a memorandum written by Harbin relative to an early missal which contains pictures of Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, and references to his canonisation. Harbin is also referred to in Wood's "Life and Times," page 490, September 25th, 1695. "Dined with Dr. [Arthur] Charles, [Henry] Gandy, [Thomas] Creech, and one Harbin a clergyman, and a Cambridge man by education, sometime Chaplain to Dr. Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, but a non-juror and in a lay habit."

The petition was received by the Archbishop and marked by him "ample testimony to the good behaviour, etc., of Mr. Assheton." The incident closed as noted above: Mr. Assheton's appointment being duly confirmed by Bishop Peploe acting as Warden.

Bishop Peploe's visitorial powers over the Church of Manchester were the subject of yet another dispute. It was contended with some reason that Peploe as Bishop could not act as visitor to Peploe as Warden, and finally

the Crown was held to be the Visitor so long as the two offices were held together.

The effect of this decision was to make the Bishop's position, for the time being, one of isolation and helplessness, but in 1744 when Peploe resigned the Wardenship in favour of his son, he was able to conduct a very severe visitation of the College of Manchester. It should be said in justice to Bishop Peploe's memory that there is another side to his character, which is naturally not presented to us by Deacon and Byrom. Peploe was generally regarded as kindly and tolerant, but his position must have been exceedingly difficult. Walpole's policy of staffing the Church with Whig and Erastian Bishops was now in full swing, and Peploe, sent down into what was to a marked extent a hot bed of Toryism and a somewhat extreme form of Jacobitism, had before him a task, the difficulties of which cannot easily be exaggerated.

No account of Deacon's social life would be complete which did not include some reference to the happy gatherings of friends at the Chetham Library, of which we have a few accounts in Byrom's "Remains," and which are of great interest to any Manchester man who has made use of the noble foundation of Humphrey Chetham. A few quotations must suffice. On July 15th, 1736, Byrom reports¹ that he had gone to the "meeting at the College and found Hoole, Banne, Clayton, Thyer, and Crouchley there." The subject for discussion was 'It is his angel,' but Dr. Deacon, who gave it, was not present, being concerned in two cases of smallpox. It would appear that subjects for discussion were selected by the friends in turn, and that Deacon's choice for this particular occasion is given above. It is interesting to note the presence of Banne and Hoole, the first and second Rectors of St. Ann's,

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. ii, p. 60.

but a fuller account must be given of another member of this company.

John Clayton, the son of William Clayton, bookseller, of Manchester, was baptized on 11th October, 1709, and educated at the Manchester Grammar School from which he proceeded to Brasenose College, Oxford, where he took the M.A. degree in 1732. On December 29th of the same year he was ordained deacon and received the title to Sacred Trinity Chapel, Salford, which he served as Assistant Curate and Incumbent for the remainder of his life.¹ Clayton was one of the original Oxford Methodists and is said to have been instrumental in persuading the Wesleys to observe the Wednesday and Friday Fasts. It is of interest to note that Thomas Deacon was in very close touch with Clayton during his time at Oxford, and in this way some sort of connection was established between Deacon and the Wesleys. The Rev. L. Tyerman records in his "Oxford Methodists" several letters which passed between Deacon and Clayton, from which it is plain that Deacon's influence over Clayton was of a very powerful description. I make here a quotation from one letter written in the year 1733 by Clayton to John Wesley. No day or month is given.

"Dr. Deacon gives his humble service to you and lets you know that the worship and discipline of the primitive Christians have taken up so much of his time that he has never read the Fathers with a particular view to their moral doctrines, and therefore cannot furnish you with the testimonies you want out

1. The Chapel of the Sacred Trinity, Salford, was built in 1635 by Humphrey Booth, "remembering that I brought nothing with me into this world, and finding that God has intrusted me with more of this world's goods than He hath done many other men." The Chapel was almost entirely rebuilt in 1752; it was for many generations a chapel of ease to the Collegiate Church and had no assigned district until 1819, when it became a district chapelry. In 1850 it was constituted a separate parish and rectory.

of his collection. I was at Dr. Deacon's when your letter came to hand, and we had a deal of talk about your scheme of avowing yourselves a Society and fixing upon a set of rules. The Doctor seemed to think that you had better let it alone, for to what end would it serve? My best respects attend your brother."¹

Mr. Tyerman was no admirer of Deacon nor indeed of Clayton in his later developments, but he freely concedes the learning of the one, and the piety of the other. I have inserted in my notice of Deacon's "Compleat Devotions" another letter of Clayton's taken from Mr. Tyerman's book, see page 173.

Dr. Hibbert-Ware has something to say as to Deacon's influence over Clayton: he describes Deacon as "Clayton's Master." Canon Overton also follows much the same line, and couples together Trinity Chapel, Salford, and Dr. Deacon's Chapel in Fennel Street as the two non-juring places of worship in Manchester. I think this statement is somewhat exaggerated, but there can be no doubt that Deacon's friendship with Clayton was of a far more intimate character than that which he shared with any other of the Clergy of Manchester.

It is perhaps well to point out that in this same year 1733 John Wesley twice visited Manchester. In May and June he was in the town and on the 3rd of the latter month he preached at the old Church and at the Chapel in Salford. It is not too much to suppose that Deacon would be brought during these visits into personal intimacy with John Wesley through the mediation of John Clayton.

One word must be said concerning another member of the company which was accustomed to assemble at Chetham College. Robert Thyer (1709—1781) was an

1. Tyerman's "Oxford Methodists," p. 34.

undergraduate at Oxford in Clayton's time, and was the most intimate friend of Byrom, Deacon, and Clayton. He was Librarian of the College Library from February, 1772, to October 3rd, 1763.

Here is a further interesting notice of the "meeting at the College¹ where were Mr. Hall, Clayton, Deacon, Houghton, from Kersall, where he had been and the question was about Abraham and Hagar, Mr. Thyer very positive about it being wrong, and I more so about it being right, his quotation from St. Ambrose which proved to be the objection of a wicked man."

We may fitly describe these meetings at the Library by a quotation from a letter written by Robert Thyer to John Byrom on 11th March, 1738, or more correctly a quotation from St. Augustine's Confessions introduced by Thyer in that letter.²

The letter gives a fanciful sketch of what Thyer conceived Byrom's daily life in London to be, and concludes with a suggestion that Byrom must often wish that he could take a run over to the Library: "*Colloqui et corridere, et vicissim benevole obsequi: simul legere libros dulciloquos simul nugari et simul honestari, dissentire sine odiis, atque ipsa rarissima dissensione condire consensiones plurimas: docere aliquid invicem, aut discere aliquid ab invicem.*"

This very apt quotation may be regarded as a suitable close for our short sketch of these happy gatherings. "*Dissentire sine odiis,*" would certainly be a suitable motto in a company of which Thomas Deacon was a member, but it is seemly that portraits of both Deacon and Thyer should adorn the walls of the present reading room of the Library which they both loved so well.

Lastly, we must say something of Deacon in his family relationships. The number of his children was

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. ii, p. 75.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 198.

very large, not less than twelve or thirteen. I have elsewhere noted the names of all those who can be traced. Deacon first mentions his children in a letter to John Byrom, dated 20th February, 1733, to which some further reference is made in Appendix A. "Sir, if you would see a raree show come down to your children and mine."¹ At this date Deacon would have at least three children, Thomas Theodorus, Robert Renatus, and Charles Clement, of all of whom in one way or another their father was bereaved in the troubles of the '45. These three lads are mentioned ten years later in a letter written by Byrom to his wife on 4th August, 1739.²

Mrs. Deacon had come up to London with four of her children. "She is a little concerned that she cannot probably dispatch her errand so soon as she would, wanting to be at home again. As I knew of such wants I comforted her as well as I could: but 'tis not easy to remove a concern of that nature, it must be endured, when it can't be cured. I wish her success with her little girl³ who favoured me with her company as if she had known her countryman, being more shy to the Londoners: poor girl, she is afraid of parting from her mamma in a strange place, and sticks by her close. The three fine boys are not so young and are glad to ride about with their grandfather and look about them a little."

Nine days later Byrom refers to Mrs. Deacon having to postpone her departure, "Bobby having been ill,"⁴ and a few days later again "Master Thor. had hurt his hand against a glass window and cut it so that he cannot use it at present, but 'tis hoped will mend finely,

1. See p. 151.

2. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. i, p. 429.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 260.

4. "The little girl" was Sarah Sophia Deacon, who afterwards married William Cartwright (see p. 151).

5. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. ii, p. 264.

but whether by Tuesday so as to hold his bridle is a question."¹

Passing on five years later, when the two eldest lads may be said to have grown up, we find among the list of subscribers to the Manchester Concerts of 1744 the names of Mr. T. T. Deacon and Mr. R. R. Deacon : the names of the Stewards of the Concerts for that year are Rev. Mr. Clayton, Dr. Walker, Mr. Penlington, and Mr. James Massey.²

As we now practically close the account of Deacon's family and social relationships, we may here state that Mrs. Deacon died on the 4th July, 1745. Her name is inscribed with that of her husband on the tombstone at St. Ann's, but no record of her burial is to be found in the register.³ I confess that I find this fact very difficult of explanation. In view of the calamities which were impending, it may be said that "she was taken away from the troubles to come."

In bringing this somewhat discursive chapter to a close, it may be necessary to point out the object which I have had in view throughout, viz., to present some account of Thomas Deacon, not as a theologian or controversialist, but simply as a man living with his family and among his friends, and I may be permitted to hope that the story which has been given in this chapter may serve as a corrective to the conception of Deacon's character which would be drawn from a consideration of his writings alone. Fortunately we have in Byrom's Journal another, and perhaps, a truer view of the man.

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. ii, p. 276.

2. Harland's Manchester "Collectanea," Vol. ii, p. 66.

3. It has been suggested to me that the entry might possibly be found in the registers of the Old Church, but this is not the case.

CHAPTER VI.

Deacon's Medical Career.

THE title of "Doctor" appears to have been given to Thomas Deacon from the commencement of his career in Manchester, but he certainly held no degree, and there is no trace that he possessed any other qualification. A certain difficulty arises owing to the fact that the College of Physicians had at that time power to stop all unlicensed practice, but this power was not always rigidly exercised. Mention has already been made of the case of Thomas Wagstaffe (consecrated at the same time as George Hickes, see page 4), who was allowed to practise in London for many years. Whether any tacit permission was accorded to Deacon or not, we have at the present time no means of ascertaining, but it may be remembered that Deacon enjoyed the confidence and friendship of Dr. Mead, who was then approaching the zenith of his career, and may possibly have given to Deacon some kind of recommendation on his departure to Manchester. Josiah Owen, in "Dr. Deacon Try'd," distinctly states that this was the case (see page 200).

There is no reason to doubt Deacon's statement that he entered upon the medical profession "under the particular direction and with the kind assistance" of Dr. Mead (see page 196). Deacon may very possibly have been regarded as an "apprentice" of Dr. Mead, and this in itself would be no mean qualification. We know nothing of Deacon's medical practice for the first few years of his life in Manchester, and so far as I have been able to ascertain the earliest information on this

subject is to be found in Byrom's Journal for the year 1726.

In that year Byrom has much to say in his Journal concerning smallpox and inoculation, the precursor of the system of vaccination discovered by Jenner at the end of the century, and on 11th February, 1726, he writes the following letter to Deacon:—

“ Dear Doctor :

How do you do? I thought to have writ to you in shorthand, but having a question to ask you that may require a longhand answer I refer it to my next: it is to enquire whether you pursued your design of being inoculated. You said nothing of it to me when I said farewell, like a sly rogue as you were: but Mrs. Deacon's concern did not permit her to be silent. I kept the secret, which I suppose is none by this time: but meeting my friend Dr. Jurin, who I know has taken the trouble of informing the public of the success of that practice upon him, I told him there was a gentleman of the profession in our town had determined to try the experiment upon himself, upon which he told me he should be obliged if I would let him know the particulars of that experiment, which accordingly I promised to ask you after, which I do by the present, requesting you to acquaint us how it succeeded with you, your opinion thereof, and such particulars as you think fit to acquaint us with. Another question I must ask you and that is whether your friend Mr. Jebb is in town and where one may have the pleasure of seeing him?”¹

James Jurin (1684—1750), of Trinity College, Cambridge, Fellow of the College of Physicians in 1719 and President for a few months immediately before his death in 1750, was one of the most learned men of the day. He was a warm supporter of the practice of inoculation and published many works on the subject.

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. i, p. 202.

Samuel Jebb, born at Mansfield about the year 1694, was a sizar of Peterhouse and intended for Holy Orders, but came under the influence of the non-jurors and afterwards became Librarian to Jeremy Collier. On the advice and partly by the assistance of Dr. Mead, Jebb commenced to study medicine and eventually settled as a physician at Stratford-le-Bow. It will be seen that Jebb's association with Collier and Mead, both of them friends and benefactors of Deacon, would to some extent account for the friendship which existed between them. A copy of a letter written by Dr. Brett to Jebb on February 24th, 17th, is recorded in the Deacon MSS. referred to on page 26. On the 18th February, 17th, Byrom states that at "Bridge's auction" Mr. Jebb told him that he had heard from Dr. Deacon but did not know that he was inoculated. On February 23rd Mr. Jebb called to see Byrom and a very provokingly brief account is given of his conversation. He said "that Dr. Mead was a great Whig, Dr. Friend proud and haughty, the reverse of Dr. Mead, we talked about Dr. Deacon, the Church."¹ Jebb called again the succeeding day as Byrom records in a letter to his wife, "Mr. Jebb called on me yesterday noon, said, that Dr. Deacon was afraid his youngest boy had the smallpox: has he?"²

Deacon did not after all undergo the process of inoculation. He wrote to Byrom on February 25th, stating that Bryan Robinson's account had persuaded against it, and in the same letter, evidently referring to the prevalence of smallpox, he earnestly desired that Mrs. Byrom would send for him if her children were ill, immediately.³

Bryan Robinson (1680—1754) of Trinity College, Dublin, Fellow of the King's and Queen's College of

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. i, p. 205.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 209.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. i, pp. 209 and 221.

Physicians in Ireland, and three times President, published in 1725 an account of the inoculation of five children at Dublin.

In July 1727, Deacon left Manchester for a brief period, and as the reason of his departure was the desire and expectation of a more successful medical career in London, the story of this little known incident of his life may be inserted in this place.

Deacon mentions the matter in a letter to Byrom dated 24th June, 1727.¹

“ His Lordship set out for London on Wednesday last and I am afraid honest Dr. Deacon will shortly follow him to the very great loss and concern of this town and neighbourhood. He has a very advantageous prospect at Stepney by the death of Dr. Cole, late Physician there. Pray make haste to Manchester and help to repair our loss of him as well as you can.”

The half humorous, half sarcastic way in which Deacon refers to himself will be noted. The journey must have been accomplished very quickly, as Byrom writes to his wife from Trinity College, Cambridge, on 2nd July, stating that he had just received a letter from Dr. Deacon in London.² Mrs. Byrom had evidently suggested to her husband that he might supply Deacon's place in Manchester, but the idea did not appeal to Byrom at all. It would appear from a passage in Byrom's letter that Deacon's medical career in Manchester had not so far been marked by much success. “Truly as to success the last gentleman (Deacon) I fancy, and I may appeal to himself, had the best when he had a call elsewhere, and when Manchester gets such another they will keep him as long as he has nothing else to take to and no longer—I wish another such as D. may come though we have him but for a season.”

1. Byrom's “Remains,” Vol. i, p. 265.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 267.

Deacon's stay in London was exceedingly short. On November 27th of this same year Byrom dined with Deacon at his house in Stepney, and Deacon then told of his resolution to go to Manchester again,¹ and on the succeeding Sunday Byrom with Jos. Clowes took coach from Temple Bar (for which they paid 2/6) and again dined with Deacon. On this occasion there were present a Mr. Salkeld and a brother of Dr. Deacon, who is frequently mentioned by John Byrom, but of whom nothing appears to be known.² From a note in Byrom's Journal it would appear that Mrs. Deacon had suffered very severely from intermittent ague.³ On 7th December the four friends, Byrom, Deacon, Clowes and Salkeld dined together at the Queen's Head, and on this occasion Deacon produced a "letter from Manchester with the names of Mr. Copley, Banne, etc., inviting him to Manchester where it seems he was resolved to go as soon as possible."

Jos. Clowes, lawyer, relative and intimate friend of Byrom, was styled by his friends, for some unknown reason, "the Alderman." His eldest son, Richard, was Fellow of the Collegiate Church, and his second son, John, was the first Rector of St. John's, Deansgate, which was founded by Edward, the eldest son of John Byrom.

Mr. Salkeld was probably descended from an old family of that name in Northumberland, who were connected by marriage with the Byroms of Salford.

It may be surmised from the invitation received by Deacon to return to Manchester that he was undoubtedly missed by his friends in the Chapter, and that it was not merely his skill as a physician that weighed with the signatories. The invitation was speedily accepted, and

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. i, p. 273.

2. But see the last letter of T. T. Deacon to his father, p. 120: "My uncle has behaved," etc.

3. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. i, p. 276.

on December 22nd, Byrom writes,¹ "he called on Mrs. Deacon who said the Doctor was to go on Monday down to Manchester, that her little child had been very ill, that the eldest had broke out most sadly and very ill, yet she must follow the Doctor in a week or a fortnight's time: she should remember Mile End as long as she lived."

² Writing on January 18th to his wife, Byrom enquires as to "how Dr. Deacon's lady got down," so that the whole experiment at Stepney lasted but a few months and could scarcely be described as a success.

After his return to Manchester it appears probable that Deacon worked his way to a considerable practice. He is certainly mentioned in connection with the leading physicians of the town. For instance, in the copy of Byrom's MSS., which is referred to by Dr. Ward in Appendix 5 of his *Poems of John Byrom*, and which is not incorporated in the "Remains" of Canon Parkinson, Byrom records that at the last illness of his wife's mother in 1730 he called in first, Dr. Mainwaring, and afterwards Dr. Deacon.³ These two names are associated on other occasions. Phoebe Byrom, the youngest and favourite sister of John Byrom, whose name was chosen by her brother for the heroine of his famous Pastoral "My time, O Ye Muses,"⁴ writes from Bath on 17th May, 1731, concerning the health of Mrs. Egerton of Tatton Park, "it seems Drs. Deacon and Mainwaring sent her here."⁵

Dr. Mainwaring was not only of considerable repute as a physician, but was also very highly connected by marriage, his wife being the younger daughter of Robert Malyn, M.D., and Katherine Massey, daughter of Richard Massey of Sale Hall. The fact that Deacon

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. i, p. 283.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 290.

3. "Poems of John Byrom," Vol. ii, p. 603.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 5.

5. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. i, p. 505.

was mentioned as evidently of equal standing with men of the position of Peter Mainwaring is sufficient testimony to the high reputation in which he was held by some of the most influential families of the district. A note of Byrom under the date of 15th July, 1736 (already in part referred to), contains a mention not only of the Egerton family, of which Phoebe Byrom writes, but of another famous Manchester family, the Levers of Alkrington, who were exceedingly good friends to Deacon through the troubles of the '45. Deacon should have opened the debate at the College as mentioned on page 74, "but was not there, being gone to Trafford and come from Alkrington, and Master Ashton Lever, he told me yesterday, was like to do well, being past the height of the smallpox, and young Egerton who had been very ill and both of them of the confluent kind." Seven days later, "Dr. Lever came to the Sessions, I went with him to the Bull's Head, he said his children were all like to do well, the younger having a favourable smallpox and the eldest has had a bad sort, and that Dr. Deacon said they should have different names for such different distempers." ¹

Darcy Lever, of Alkrington, LL.D., was knighted in December 1736, and was High Sheriff of Lancashire for the year 1737. He appointed John Clayton as his Chaplain, and with Thomas Deacon as his medical attendant there must have been a fine Jacobite flavour about the High Sheriff's year of office. Dr. Lever married on 3rd May 1725, Dorothy, younger daughter of the Rev. W. Assheton, B.D., Rector of Prestwich, and last of the Asshetons of Chadderton. Byrom has in his Journal for 30th of January, 1738, a brief mention of this marriage, which I must insert here, if only from the point of view of local associations. "Rode to Kersal to take leave with mother, talked with Parson

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. ii, p. 61.

Assheton upon the Moor and wished him joy of his daughter going to be married."¹

Lady Lever, who was left a widow in 1742, was a friend in need to Deacon in the troubles which will be related in a following chapter.

Enough has now been said on this part of our subject. It will be plain that Deacon as a medical practitioner held a high place in the regard of some of the most prominent people in Manchester. The writer of the notes to Byrom's "Remains",² who evidently had a genuine admiration for Deacon says, "Manchester has had good reason to boast of its learned physicians. Amongst them no one added to his professional skill more various and recondite erudition than Dr. Deacon."³ We may endorse this opinion as reasonable and sound, and so take leave of Thomas Deacon in the character of a "non-juring parson who mortifies himself with the practice of physic,"⁴ and we must now resume in the next chapter our account of Deacon's relations with the remainder of the non-juring body.

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. i, p. 82.

2. The Notes to the "Remains of Byrom," edited by Canon Parkinson, were written by Canon Raines and Mr. J. Crossley.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 268.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 499.

CHAPTER VII.

**Deacon as Non-Juror, 1720-44: His Consecration
as Bishop.**

WE must endeavour to take up the story of the non-jurors from the establishment of the definite schism within the main body which may be dated from the issue of the new communion office of 1718. From that date various consecrations of Bishops took place, on both sides of the separated body. On November 25th, 1722, John Griffin was consecrated by Collier, Brett and Campbell, and on April 9th, 1727, Thomas Brett the younger was consecrated by Brett, Griffin and Campbell. On the other side Spinckes, Hawes and Gandy consecrated on January 25th, 17²⁰₂₂, Hilkieah Bedford and Ralph Taylor, the latter of whom was responsible for an irregular line of succession of short duration. On the 30th March, 1725, at the request of Spinckes and Gandy, Henry Doughty was consecrated in Edinburgh by four Scotch Bishops, Fullarton, Miller, Irvine, and Fairbairn. The new Bishop, together with Spinckes and Gandy consecrated John Blackburne on Ascension Day, 1725, and on the 11th June in the same year Henry Hall was consecrated by the same Bishops.

On March 25th, 1728, Gandy, Doughty and Blackburne consecrated Richard Rawlinson, to whose MSS. is due so much information as to non-juring consecrations and ordinations. Gandy, Blackburne and Rawlinson consecrated on St. Stephen's Day, 1728, George Smith, who became the means of uniting the two lines of succession.

The commonly expressed opinion as to the re-union (such as it was) of the non-jurors, which was established about the year 1732, is that the Non-Usagers made an

entire surrender, and that after this date the communion office of 1718 was generally accepted and used. I venture to suggest in view of the quotations from the Deacon MSS., which will be given in this chapter, that this statement will require considerable modification.

I will begin the discussion of the subject by quoting from the Deacon MSS. a letter addressed to "Dr. Deacon at Manchester" by Dr. Brett. It is dated October 4th, 1729, from "Spring Grove," the family home of the Bretts in the County of Kent.

" Dear Brother,

I received a letter from Mr. G. Smith of Durham (the publisher of Bede) with proposals for a re-union between us and our old friends, and that Mr. Blackburne had agreed to make them to us. At the same time Mr. Griffin acquainted me that they had made him a civil visit and made the like proposals, and let him know that they would send them to me. But as none of their own side were yet acquainted with them but themselves, I was also desirous to acquaint nobody with the matter except Mr. Wagstaffe till we were come to some agreement. And accordingly Mr. Griffin and I are come to this agreement with these two bishops if they and we can prevail with our brethren on both sides to agree with us, which I hope we may do. The proposals are shortly these. They agree that the Mixture shall be always and openly used, but the words 'Militant here on earth' must always be said and all the service as in the Book of Common Prayer. We are at liberty to understand the clause in the Prayer for the Church Militant in the same unlimited sense as if the aforesaid words were left out, agreeably to other parts of the Common Prayer Book, particularly in the Burial Service, where 'God is besought to accomplish the number of his elect, etc.' And that the words 'accept our oblations'

are to be understood of the bread and wine placed upon the Table by the priest, and that in so doing he does not only acknowledge God's sovereignty thereby, but also offers the elements for the sacrificial ministration and intends to perform with them all the subsequent acts . . . And they declare that the Church by putting this oblation of bread and wine at the beginning of her service intends it to have an influence upon her whole service and to show that the whole is oblatory and sacrificial. Further the words "grant that we receiving etc." may imply a petition for the blessing of the Holy Spirit because of the words 'Thy Holy Institution.' If these terms are accepted we must lay aside our new office. We may be satisfied with these terms until better provision is made by more unexceptionable authority."

It will be well for the better understanding of these proposals that something should be said as to the three bishops named by Brett in this letter. On the one side we have Smith and Blackburne, and on the other Griffin and Brett himself. The "Mr. Wagstaffe" mentioned was the son of Thomas Wagstaffe consecrated in 1693 (see page 4.) He was never made a bishop by the non-jurors but was a most accomplished classical scholar and took a leading part in the controversy of 1716-20 on the side of the Usagers. In 1738 he left England and became Anglican Chaplain to the titular James III., and afterwards to Charles III. It may be surmised that his duty in that extraordinary position would not be onerous, but Wagstaffe certainly made good use of his time. The library at Sion College possesses a MS. copy of "an accurate collation of several particular texts in the principal Greek MSS. in the Vatican and Barberini libraries at Rome made by Thomas Wagstaffe." This copy was presented to Sion College by John Berriman, in whose preface are some remarks which are worth

transcribing. "In the year 1738 I obtained from the very learned Thomas Wagstaffe at Rome a more exact and particular account of the Greek MSS. of St. Paul's Epistles in the Vatican Library and that of Cardinal Barberini than had ever before been communicated to the world. Mr. Wagstaffe had for some time free access to the Vatican and the liberty of collating MSS. in the absence of the Assemani, the librarian." Wagstaffe died in Rome in 1770, and it was commonly said that but for his faith he would have been canonised. He was, on his ordination in 1733, appointed keeper of the Church records of the non-jurors, and may in this way have been regarded as a suitable intermediary between the opposing bishops, of whom a brief account is here given.

John Griffin of Merton College, Oxford (1696), refused the oaths in 1715, was consecrated in 1722 (see page 89), and went in 1728 to take charge, as bishop, of a non-juring community in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. This would account for his connection with George Smith, who was a native of Durham and a nephew of Hilkiah Bedford. He belonged to a family of some eminence. His father was Prebendary of Durham, and commenced an edition of "Bede's Ecclesiastical History," which was completed by his son, George Smith, and was for many years the standard work on that subject.¹

John Blackburne was the most unyielding of the non-usagers, and is commonly believed to have refused to join in the agreement which was shortly afterwards made.

It is evident from the proposals contained in this letter (which were practically endorsed by Brett) that Brett was prepared to retrace his steps, to a considerable extent,

1. See Chas. Plummer's "Venerable Bede" (Oxford, 1896), Author's preface, p. 80: "It was completed as a labour of love by his son, Geo. Smith, who at the time of his father's death (1715) was only 22 years old. So good, however, is Smith's text that subsequent editors have practically been content to reproduce it, and very little has been done for the textual criticism of Bede since 1722."

and that he was becoming uneasy as to the ecclesiastical position of the non-jurors. It is not possible to imagine that either Campbell or Deacon would have spoken of a "more unexceptionable authority."

The proposals made by Bishop Smith were really exactly opposite to those offered by Collier and Brett in 1716. What they desired was that the Usages must be accepted but their opponents need not believe in them as matters of necessity. What the non-usagers now proposed was, that all the usages, with the important exception of the mixed chalice should be given up, but on the other hand the doctrines of which the usages were the outward expression were freely acknowledged. A basis of agreement was now quite possible provided that any real desire for unity was in existence. It may, however, be doubted whether Brett entertained any hope of influencing Thomas Deacon in this direction. The reply of Deacon to Brett is not preserved, but if the reader has perceived the drift of Deacon's opinions as an "essentialist" he will not be surprised to find that Deacon refused to be any party to these negotiations. A second letter from Brett dated 8th November, 1729, is preserved. "I am sorry to find by your letter that notwithstanding you express a desire for peace and union yet your arguments tend to make a greater breach between us and our old friends than ever has been."

I suspect that Deacon, with his usual incisive judgment, perceived that the real point at issue was whether re-union with the English Church was desirable or not. If it were desirable then it would probably be good policy to have as little divergence as possible from the Book of Common Prayer. But Deacon certainly rejected this view: re-union with the Church was to him not only undesirable but impossible. From certain obscure passages to be found in Brett's second letter it would appear that Deacon argued strongly against certain Articles and Canons. To this Brett replied it would be time enough

to discuss these matters when subscription to Articles or Canons was actually required. Another point about which discussion had taken place was concerned with the later opinions of Jeremy Collier. Brett makes the interesting statement that Mr. Collier "yielded to the use of the words 'militant here on earth' because they were not exclusive in their meaning." Brett concludes this letter by stating his personal position. "I can't say that I do not think our own office much better than this, however I think we may content ourselves with this rather than continue divided from our brethren."

There is appended on the next page of the MS. without any heading, note or comment the following statement. "When compared with Catholic peace and union all the question is whether we should be divided from our old friends or from the Primitive Church. For if I could once be satisfied that the latter would have communicated by such a Liturgy as the former propose, I would not say one word upon the point of worship." There speaks Deacon, and this brief record is doubtless intended as a summary of his reply to Brett.

That a settlement was made between Brett on the one side and Smith on the other is certain. It is equally certain that Campbell and Deacon were not included in this settlement. Canon Overton blames Campbell for originating what was practically yet another schism, and says that this was the more inexcusable "because the usagers had practically won all along the line." I am very far from desiring to dissent from Overton's censure of Campbell, but in view of the proposals which were approved by Brett it is impossible to accept this statement as correct. It is true that by 1733 all the non-juring bishops with the exception of Campbell and those whom he consecrated in that year, and of Blackburne who, apparently, refused the mixed cup altogether, were in communion with each other, but if, as is probably the case, the re-union was attained on the lines which have

been indicated, it is a misuse of language to describe the settlement as "a complete triumph for the usagers." I believe that this was the basis of the settlement, and further there is not wanting evidence that from this time the Communion Office of 1718, which was the outward and visible sign of the beliefs of the usagers, was laid aside.

A letter which appeared in the *British Magazine*, Volume 17, page 537, under the signature of 'W' at Trinity College, Cambridge, throws considerable light upon this subject. Reference is made to a tract written in 1732 by Roger Laurence entitled 'the indispensable obligation of ministering expressly and manifestly the great Necessaries of Public Worship, with a detection of the false reasonings of Dr. Brett's letter.' Laurence gives in this tract a copy of an 'Instrument of Union,' the terms of which are almost identical with those contained in Brett's letter to Deacon. This was signed on the first part by the following :—

H. G., *i.e.*, Henry Gandy.

R. R., *i.e.*, Richard Rawlinson.

proct. G. S., *i.e.*, George Smith.

April 17th, 1732.

There is appended the following declaration signed by the two Bretts, father and son. "We being satisfied with the promises and declarations made by Mr. H. G., Dr. R. R., and Mr. G. S., do return to full communion with them and promise to lay aside the office we now use from and after Sept. 1, 1732.

T. B., LL.D.

T. B., A.M.'

May 26th,

1732.

Laurence strongly denounces this compact. "The instrument falsely called an Instrument of Union has proved an Instrument of division. It has divided us

more than we were divided before." The anonymous writer in the *British Magazine* states that Brett replied to this tract in 1733. I can find no trace of the reply, but it may be pointed out that in the MS. catalogue of the Rev. John Clayton is to be found the title of a book by Brett. "The necessities of christian worship provided for in the liturgy of the Church of England, 1733." This is evidently the reply to Laurence.

Further evidence may be found in the practice of the later Non-jurors in London. In 1731 the two Bretts, father and son, joined with Smith in consecrating Mawman, and in 1741, Brett, Smith and Mawman consecrated Robert Gordon, the last bishop of the regular succession. Now we happen to know how Bishop Gordon conducted public worship from the description given by Bishop Forbes under the date of October 1764.¹ He tells us that "Gordon omitted the words 'militant, etc.,' and made this great addition, 'all sick and distressed persons, particularly such as may be suffering in the cause of Truth, and Righteousness, etc.,' and added 'exiles' to 'prisoners and captives' and made a long pause after these words, 'departed this life in Thy Faith and Fear,' during which he and his people with hands and eyes lifted up into heaven were commemorating such of the faithful departed as they should judge most proper at the time: and in the Prayer of Consecration he also made a long pause after these words, 'Hear us O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech Thee,' in order to introduce mentally the Invocation of the Holy Spirit of God upon the elements of bread and wine. Immediately after the Prayer of Consecration he used the Oblatory Prayer."

If it be urged that at the late period of 1764 alterations may have taken place which were not sanctioned in 1741, it may be replied that we have evidence from correspondence between Deacon and his Clergy in 1750 (see page

1. Journals of the Episcopal Visitations of Bishop Robert Forbes, edited and compiled by the Rev. J. B. Craven (London, 1886), pp. 33-35.

138) that Gordon's use in that year was identical with what has been described by Bishop Forbes. I conclude then that so far from the settlement of 1733 being a triumph for the usagers, it was really a compromise by means of which the opposing side gained much, particularly in the disuse of the liturgy of 1718 and the return to the English liturgy, with the few alterations in Bishop Forbes' account which has been given above.

Archibald Campbell refused all part in these proceedings and now took the irregular and uncanonical step of consecrating solely by himself two bishops to perpetuate what was now henceforth a separate wing of the non-juring movement. The entry in the Rawlinson MSS. is brief, "Roger Laurence, M.A. consecrated by Mr. Arch. Campbell. Thomas Deacon consecrated by the same person at the same time."¹

Mr. A. P. Perceval in his "Doctrine of the Apostolical Succession" (second edition, appendix), states that Laurence was consecrated first and then joined Campbell in consecrating Deacon. The story does not of itself sound very probable, is at variance with the statement in the Rawlinson MSS., and appears to be contradicted by the letters of 1750 quoted on page 140, in which it appears to be taken for granted that Deacon was consecrated by a single bishop. I should doubt whether Mr. Perceval's authority is much to be trusted on these matters. He makes in the same appendix the amazing statement that Cartwright was consecrated by Deacon in 1780, that is, more than a quarter of a century after Deacon's death, and this mistake was repeated by several writers in "Notes and Queries."

Roger Laurence (b. 1670) is chiefly famous for his views on the invalidity of lay baptism, on which subject he published a treatise in 1708, which was followed by a violent controversy, in the course of which Laurence

1. No date is given, but it appears to be generally accepted that Deacon's consecration took place in the year 1733. I must confess, however, that I have never found any actual proof of this. See, however, the "Letter of Orders," p. 157.

received some assistance from Hickes and Brett. He was by this means won over to the non-juring cause and was ordained Deacon and Priest by Bishop Hickes in December, 1714, and appears to have become minister of an Oratory on College Hill, which is frequently described by Rawlinson as Mr. Laurence's Chapel. Laurence's views on lay baptism would strongly commend him to Archibald Campbell, and there is no reason to doubt that he was of one mind with Campbell and Deacon as to what they considered essentials. He did not long survive his consecration, dying in 1736.

The question may be asked whether John Byrom knew anything at the time of Deacon's consecration. There is no trace of any reference to it in his "Remains," and, indeed, singularly few letters of this date between Byrom and Deacon are preserved. It may be conjectured that the secret would not be long kept between two such intimate friends, and it appears certain from various pamphlets afterwards published in "Manchester Vindicated" that Deacon's episcopal character was generally known. As previously intimated I have prepared a special appendix containing many of these papers, but I insert here the following quotation which is probably from the pen of Byrom, and was published in the "Chester Courant" of February 24th, 1746. "I had nothing to do the next day but to make some enquiry after the Non-juring bishop and his congregation which have made such an eminent figure in history. The title of Bishop, and of a bishop as I was told, of pretty near the same complexion with the Roman ones, gave me an idea of some venerable Personage who never stirred out without his equipage and proper habiliments with a *posse* of inferior clergy to attend him : but this Prelate I had an opportunity of seeing entirely unattended. He was dressed just like other men are and proved nothing more than a physician in the town of great repute for his learning and practice."

As to Deacon's "Congregation" in Manchester it may very well be thought that something should have been said previously on this subject. The fact is, however, that no information of any importance is available. It is not even certain whether Deacon conducted worship in his own house in Fennel Street, or in an adjacent building, but the strong probability is that the former supposition is correct.¹ There is a note of some interest in the "Compleat History of the Rebellion from its first rise in 1745 to its total suppression at the glorious battle of Culloden in April, 1746," by Mr. James Ray of Whitehaven, Volunteer under his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland. Ray was an antiquarian as well as a soldier, and he had also some pretensions to journalism. He introduced into his book "The natural history and antiquities of the several towns through which I passed with His Majesty's army." On page 207 he writes, in his notes of Manchester, "there is a Jacobite non-juring Chapel: I don't know of what body the congregation consists, they not allowing any to come amongst them but such as are of their own sort, who (like the more worshipful society of Freemasons) are under an oath not to divulge what is transacted there except it be to a just and lawful Jacobite, as he or they shall appear upon examination."

As to the number of Deacon's flock, it cannot at any time have been large. During the avalanche of tracts and pamphlets, which followed on the various troubles of the '45, reference is made, from various points of view to the number of Deacon's followers, which is variously estimated from 20 to 100. In the passage which has been quoted it is added "as to his congregation it consisted according to the account I received of about a score of persons, the greater part of them

1. Mr. T. Swindells, however, in his "Manchester Men and Manchester Streets," Series I, p. 61, states that Deacon's services were held over a shop in Fennel Street.

women.”¹ An extract from a pamphlet attributed to Thomas Perceval of Royton, is as follows:—“His own congregation were about 20 before the late hurry and now perhaps not above 60 that publicly attend him.”² It is likely enough that the executions of the '45 would have the customary result of increasing Deacon's popularity, but it may be taken as certain that the congregation to which he ministered for 30 years in Manchester as Priest and Bishop never exceeded a few score. It should, however, be said that Deacon's powerful personality undoubtedly had a strong influence over the few who adhered to him, as will be stated in the last chapter of this work, and the congregation continued in existence until the early years of the nineteenth century.

As to what is in modern times styled “ritual” I presume that the services conducted by Deacon would be of a very simple character. The first three centuries would not furnish any precedent for elaborate ceremonial, and so far as can be gathered from the rubrics in the “Compleat Devotions” nothing was desired or attempted in this direction with the possible exception of the frequent use of the Sign of the Cross which is described in Deacon's “Comprehensive View” as a Sacrament.

One of Deacon's first acts as bishop was the issue in 1734 of his “Compleat Collection of Devotions.” A full account of this remarkable work is given in Appendix A. It may be assumed that from this date the office of 1718 was laid aside and the new and more elaborate liturgy substituted in its stead. It may here suffice to say that a statement in “Notes and Queries,” Series 2, No. 76, under date June 13th, 1857, refers to a copy of this work which was sold by Sotheby and Wilkinson on June 5th and 6th of that year. The book had a title of a remarkable character. “The Order of the Divine

1. See p. 98.

2. See p. 133.

Offices of the Orthodox British Church containing the Holy Liturgy, etc., as authorised by the Bishops of the said Church." This is a high-sounding title, but it is necessary to point out that the only bishops who were in any way responsible for the work were Campbell, Deacon and Laurence.

There is a curious incident in connection with Deacon's episcopal career which has not been mentioned so far as I am aware in any previous work. We are indebted for information on the subject to the Reverend Walter Bell, Minister of the Scottish Episcopal Church at Linton, near Edinburgh, some 40 years ago. He writes on June 4th, 1862, to the Feoffees of the Chetham Hospital and forwards them a copy of some MSS. which were at the time in the library of the Scottish Episcopal Church at Edinburgh, and which he thinks might be of interest to Manchester people. The copy made by Mr. Bell includes a "letter from the Rt. Rev. Bishop Deacon at Manchester to the Reverend Clergy in London who were in communion with and under the government of the late Rt. Rev. Archibald Campbell," and also letters between "Dr. Deacon and his Presbyters in the year 1750." It will be more convenient to deal with the latter in its own place but the former is here quoted. "Since it hath pleased Almighty God to remove out of this transitory life our late dear brother, Mr. Archibald Campbell, by which means the government of the small distressed church under your care is devolved upon my Unworthiness, I, taking into consideration the Duty of my Office and following the advice of the Holy Martyr Saint Ignatius to the Blessed Polycarp, to *enquire about everyone by name*, do desire that you would each of you send me a list of all the several persons who are in your Communion and under your Cares, their Names, Stations in Life, places of Abode and their children and their ages: for, as I am to answer to the Great God for all the souls under my inspection, I am determined to

know every one in particular. And as the duties between a bishop and his clergy and people are relative and reciprocal, that I may be assured of the mutual performance of yours, as I do hereby engage myself to a due execution of mine, I also desire you, my brethren of the clergy, to draw up an instrument, expressing your acknowledgement of me for your principle of Unity and promising such obedience as is due by the Laws of the Catholic Church. This I expect you to sign yourselves and to get it signed by all the laity under you: for I shall look upon none to be under my care nor exercise Episcopal Authority over any but those persons (and their children) who shall sign the said Instrument. And I think it will be proper for you to keep a copy of the same, that it may be signed by new converts, as God shall be pleased from time to time to bless and increase our Communion with them. I hope you will judge this step which I take as proper as it is thought necessary by

Rev. Sirs,

Your affectionate Brother,

July 20th, 1744.

✠ Thos. Deacon."

It is evident that Deacon regarded himself as Campbell's successor and also as the sole remaining bishop of what was now styled the "Orthodox British Catholic Church." There was another non-juring communion with one or more congregations in London under the guidance of Robert Gordon, who is referred to on page 137. It is, however, quite certain from letters which will be quoted in Chapter IX. that the "small and distressed church" to which Deacon addresses himself in this epistle had no connection whatever with the communion of Bishop Gordon. The spectacle of Thomas Deacon in Manchester solemnly addressing a handful of people in London, and claiming to be in his own person their "principle of unity" may appear pathetic or ridiculous according to the prepossessions of the individual reader.

We here bring to a close the three chapters in which an attempt has been made to represent Thomas Deacon during the best years of his life, as an ordinary member of the community, as a physician, and as a non-juring priest and bishop. It may perhaps be claimed that this has been done on a much fuller scale than in any previous account of Deacon. It is also hoped that where the facts presented are already familiar to students of this period (as they are for the most part) a new point of view has been adopted, and that information has here and there been inserted which may be said to throw new light upon what is without doubt a curious and abstruse subject.

We now proceed in the next chapter to deal with the story of the '45, so far as the fortunes of Thomas Deacon were involved in that disastrous undertaking.

CHAPTER VIII.

**Manchester and the '45: Execution of T. T. Deacon:
The Controversy of 1746-8: "Manchester Vindicated."**

As this work does not profess to deal with the general history of England, we shall take as our starting point the entry into Manchester of the Jacobite forces on 28th November, 1745. We are fortunate in possessing a most delightful account of these stirring events from the pen of Elizabeth, eldest daughter and child of John Byrom. "Beppy," as she is affectionately named by her father in his letters, was at this time in her 24th year, and her journal is perhaps not the less interesting as being written from a girl's point of view. The journal is to be found in the second volume of Byrom's "Remains," beginning at page 385. It may be noted that no entries made in his journal by John Byrom himself during this period are preserved, a fact which is not without significance. It is impossible to believe that Byrom did not write an account which, for some reason or other, he thought it well to destroy.

On 27th November, Miss Byrom briefly records:—

"Yesterday the militia was all discharged and sent home, but just in time before the Highlanders came—well contrived."

It was so far well contrived that on the succeeding day Miss Byrom is able to record her version of the story first told by James Ray in his "Rebellion,"¹ and often since repeated that "Manchester was taken by a Sergeant, a Drum and a Woman."

"Thursday 28th: About 3-0 o'clock came into the

1. "Compleat History of the Rebellion," p. 156.

town two men in Highland dress and a woman behind one of them with a drum on her knee, and for all the loyal work that our Presbyterians have made, they took possession of the town, as one may say, for, immediately they were 'light, they beat volunteers for P.C. 'All gentlemen that have a mind to serve H. R. H. P. C. with a willing mind etc. five guineas advance,' and nobody offered to meddle with them. They were joined immediately by Mr. J. Bradshaw, Tom Syddall, Mr. Tom Deacon, Mr. Fletcher, Tom Chaddock and several others have listed."

Our journalist goes on to say that it is a fine moonlight night and that her papa and uncle had gone to consult with the Borough-Reeve and others, how to keep themselves out of any scrape and yet behave civilly. "All the Justices fled and Lawyers too except Cousin Clowes."

"Friday 29th: They are beating up for the P: eleven o'clock we went up to the Cross to see the rest come in: there came small parties of them till about three o'clock when the P. and the main body of them came, I cannot guess how many."

There are two items of interest omitted in Miss Byrom's record which we may insert here. As the first party of the main body of the rebels marched into St. Ann's Square on the morning of the 29th November, the funeral of Joseph Hoole, the second rector of St. Ann's was being conducted in the churchyard. It is stated by Dr. Hibbert-Ware¹ "that some of the Officers came to the graveside, uncovered, and behaved with great respect and decorum." The other incident is concerned with an event which took place in Salford. As Charles Edward passed through the streets of the "Royal Borough" he was met by the Rev. John Clayton who fell on his knees and publicly prayed for the success of the undertaking.

1. "Foundations in Manchester," Vol. ii, p. 100

Our journalist then describes how "the P. went straight up to Mr. Dickenson's where he lodges—all the town was illuminated except Mr. Dickenson's, my papa, mamma and sister, my uncle and I walked up and down to see it: about four o'clock the King was proclaimed etc. We sat up making St. Andrew's crosses until two o'clock."

With regard to the proclamation of James III. in Manchester, it will be noticed that Miss Byrom makes no reference to the part taken in those proceedings by the Constables of the town, Thomas Walley and William Fowden. A full account is given in the Kenyon MSS., page 478, Nos. 1223 and 1224, in the form of a copy of a brief for the defendant in the suit of the King versus William Fowden. "As to proclaiming the Pretender, the Constables were sent for to the Pretender's lodgings under a guard of armed rebels, and thence about three o'clock in the afternoon of Friday, November 29th, guarded down to the Market Cross where a rebel officer tendered the proclamation unto Mr. Walley, who absolutely refused to read it, and it was then tendered to the prisoner Mr. Fowden, who gave a like refusal, but upon being pressed he told them he could not see without his spectacles. Then Mr. Walley being demanded to repeat the proclamation after one of the rebel officers said he had a hesitation in his speech and could not, upon which they obliged Mr. Fowden to repeat after them which he did very unwillingly and in great fear."

John Byrom confirms this statement in the letter to Mr. Vigor of Bristol quoted on page 111.—"At the proclamation, the two constables were forced to be there and one of them to repeat the words."

Perhaps the most interesting part of Miss Byrom's description is in her account of the events of the succeeding day, from which the following quotation is taken:—

"St. Andrew's Day: More crosses making until

twelve o'clock : then I dressed me up in my white gown and went up to my Aunt Brearcliffe's, and an Officer called on us to go to see the Prince, we went to Mr. Fletcher's and saw him get a horse-back and a noble sight it is, I would not have missed it for a great deal of money. His horse had stood an hour in the court without stirring, and as soon as he gat on, he began a-dancing and capering as if he was proud of the burden, and when he rid out of the court, he was received with as much joy and shouting almost as if he had been King without any dispute, indeed I think scarce anybody that saw him could dispute it."

It will be noted that the young lady is less cautious than her father in her expression of Jacobite sympathies. After describing a long period of waiting at Mr. Fletcher's she proceeds: "we sat there till Secretary Murray came to let us know that the P. was at leisure and had done supper, so we were all introduced and had the honour to kiss his hand: my papa was fetched prisoner to do the same and so was Dr. Deacon: Mr. Cattell and Mr. Clayton did it without: the latter said Grace for him: then we went out and drank his health in the other room etc." On December 1st Miss Byrom records the departure of the Prince on his southward journey "over Cheadle Ford."

We may now fill up one or two gaps in this narrative, and endeavour to estimate the position which Thomas Deacon occupied with regard to all the proceedings.

The "Manchester Regiment," such as it was, was speedily raised and was mustered in the churchyard after divine service on St. Andrew's Day, the officiating minister being Mr. Shrigley, the Chaplain for that week. Charles Edward had nominated, as Commander of the Regiment, Colonel Francis Townley, a Roman Catholic of ancient family. Townley had more than once visited Manchester with a view of exciting sympathy on behalf of the Pretender, and of obtaining recruits. He is said

to have been very obnoxious to John Byrom on account of his habit of profane swearing, and Dr. Hibbert-Ware quotes an impromptu stanza of Byrom addressed to Townley on this subject.¹

O that the muse might call without offence
The gallant soldier back to his good sense.
His temp'ral field so cautious not to lose
So careless quite of his eternal foes.
Soldier ! so tender of thy prince's fame,
Why so profuse of a superior name ?
For the King's sake the brunt of battles bear,
But—for the King of Kings' sake—do not swear !

As to the officers of the regiment it may suffice for our present purpose to quote the list which is given by James Ray on page 241 of his "Rebellion." ²

Colonel : Francis Townley of Lancashire.

Captains : Peter Moss, James Dawson and George Fletcher of Lancashire; John Saunderson of Northumberland and Andrew Blood of Yorkshire.

Lieutenants : Thomas Deacon, Robert Deacon, John Berwick (Beswick), John Holker of Lancashire; Thomas Chadwick³ of Staffordshire and Thomas Furnival of Cheshire.

Ensigns : Charles Deacon, Charles Taylor, James

1. "Foundations in Manchester," Vol. ii, p. 98.

2. The colours carried in the Manchester Regiment bore on the one side the words, "Liberty and Property," and on the other, "Church and Country."

3. Interesting information regarding this officer is to be found in the "Jacobite Papers," printed for the Spalding Club, Vol. ii. Chadwick is reported "to have contributed greatly to the amusement of the Jacobite officers. A cultured musician, he could play on several instruments, and was a boon companion as well as a man of most daring resolution. During his confinement he always took the lead in trying to amuse and cheer his companions." (Introduction, p. 35.)

Also on p. 441 of the same work : "In the Churches at Derby and Lancaster the defendant played several tunes upon the organ. Amongst others that commonly called 'The 29th of May,' or 'The King shall enjoy his own again,' which made him much esteemed by the chief officers of the rebels."

Wilding, John Betts and William Bradshaw, of Lancashire: John Hunter of Northumberland and Samuel Maddox, of Cheshire.

Adjutant: Thomas Syddall, of Lancashire.

Captain James Dawson was the hero of Shenstone's Poem, and was a near relative of John Byrom. He was the son of William Dawson, apothecary of Manchester, and Elizabeth, his wife, who was daughter of Richard Allen of Redivales in Bury. John Byrom's mother and Richard Allen were sister and brother, being children of Captain John Allen.

John Beswick was also connected with the Byroms. William Byrom of Manchester, great uncle of John Byrom, married in 1640 Rebecca, daughter of John Beswick of Failsworth, and sister of the Rev. Charles Beswick, rector of Radcliffe, whose name is still inscribed on the ancient tower of St. Mary's Church in that town.

The officers with whom we are specially concerned are the three sons of Thomas Deacon. Thomas Theodorus, the eldest of the three, was at this time 22 years of age, and was being trained for the medical profession. Robert Renatus, the second son, often referred to by John Byrom as "Bobby," was probably not robust, as mention is made of his illness by Byrom on several occasions. Charles Clement, the youngest of the unfortunate brothers, was at this time not 17 years of age, and is described by Byrom in his Latin Poem addressed to Lord Harrington (see page 123) as *Puer et scholaris, inscius rerum*. This latter appellation might well be given to all who joined the Manchester Regiment at a time when the fortunes of Charles Edward were already hopeless.

Thomas Syddall, Adjutant, the sharer of the horrid fate of Thos. Theodorus Deacon, son of Thomas Syddall executed in the '15, was a devoted friend to the Deacons. On the journey of Mrs. Deacon to London,

described on page 78, Syddall acted as escort to the mother and the three lads who were now his companions in this disastrous expedition.^{1 2}

It is time to enquire as to Thomas Deacon's personal attitude to all the events which have been briefly sketched. The testimony on this subject is very conflicting. John Byrom's account is given in a shorthand letter to Mr. Vigor, who was styled "Warden of Bristol" as Deacon was "Warden of Manchester," the title of course having reference to the Shorthand Association. The letter is dated 1st of March, 17⁴⁵, and is of considerable length. After describing the arrival of the Prince or Pretender in Manchester Byrom proceeds³: "There were about 30 of our neighbours that listed under him, among whom three sons of poor Dr. Deacon, who engaged without their father's consent as I am told and two of them without his knowledge: his own opinion he never made secret of but has done nothing in his own person that his enemies can lay hold of him for, though they are much disposed to do it."

It may perhaps be contended, not without reason, that this account of Byrom is the more likely to be correct and impartial as being written in shorthand to an intimate friend, but it is necessary to state that an entirely different version of the events is given in an article in the Supplement to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the year 1746, written under the date of 19th December, by *Philopatriæ*, who was undoubtedly Josiah Owen, Presbyterian Minister of Blackwater Street Chapel, Rochdale. This passage is quoted in full in Appendix B, page 193.

Josiah Owen was strongly opposed to Deacon and Byrom both on religious and political grounds. We

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. ii, p. 280.

2. Syddall was described by Maddox in his evidence at the trial as having been "the busiest of anybody at Manchester in enlisting men and searching." "Jacobite Papers," Vol. ii, p. 442.

3. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. ii, p. 412.

shall shortly attempt an account of the controversy in which Byrom and Owen were the chief combatants, although the real cause of the dispute was to be found in the supposed political aims of Thomas Deacon. It is not too much to say that Owen was an example of all that a controversialist ought not to be. Personal attacks of a somewhat vulgar nature, together with charges against his opponents unsupported by any evidence whatever, are to be found on almost every page of Owen's pamphlets. Thomas Deacon's position was certainly open to attack both from the civil and ecclesiastical point of view, and it was also not by any means difficult for an opponent to make holes in the armour of John Byrom, but Owen was not the man for this task. I presume that the vast majority of people would now agree that Owen had the better case, but he was a much inferior man to Byrom and Deacon, both in intellectual power and in controversial methods.

If reference is made to the passage indicated it will be seen that Owen charges Deacon with having had a "dispensation" to excuse him from personal participation in the Rebellion. The charge was vague and indefinite and Deacon had not much difficulty in repelling it in his "Vindication," published in the *Chester Courant*, 26th April, 1748 (see page 197).

Owen also made another serious charge against Deacon in his pamphlet "Dr. Deacon Try'd by his own Tribunal" (see page 200), to the effect that his second son Robert was disinclined to join the Rebellion and only did so through fear of his father. It may be noted that Thomas Theodorus Deacon in his dying speech referred to similar rumours in connection with himself and absolutely denied them.¹

Now if we put, side by side, these widely differing accounts given by Byrom and Owen, we shall find that while the probabilities are all on the side of Byrom's

1. See also the letter of T. T. Deacon to his father, quoted on p. 119.

story being the most credible, it is scarcely possible to accept all his statements without some modification. It is impossible, for instance, to believe that any of the three lads engaged in the affair without their father's knowledge and consent. On the other hand, Owen's story as to Robert Deacon being compelled to enlist may be dismissed as mere rhetoric, and the same may be said about his charge of the obtaining of a "dispensation."

Thomas Deacon then, it may be said, took no active or personal part in the Rebellion, but he was called upon to suffer to a bitter degree as the remainder of this story will show.

On Monday, 2nd December, Miss Byrom records the excitement created by news of the King's troops. "They gathered a mob together and by degrees they got a little frightful and went up and down town threatening to pull down the houses of them that are gone with them: papa went amongst them and several gentlemen, but they have broke Dr. Deacon's lamp and windows."¹ The good town of Manchester must have been a rough place at this period for on the 9th the Highlanders, now on their retreat from Derby, were in the town again. They left on the 10th, and Miss Byrom records an incident which occurred on their departure in the streets of Salford, which might have led to serious consequences. A shot was fired at the last of the Highlanders out of a garret window, and for a time it seemed probable that the town might be fired.² Deacon and probably Clayton also, found it advisable to be out of town after the arrival of the King's forces. Miss Byrom has two records which give us some information on this matter. December 23rd, "My Lady Lever has seized of Dr. Deacon's goods: he has been out of town

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. ii, p. 396.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 400.

since before the King's forces came in, there are four children at Mrs. Coats' and four at Lady Lever's."¹

January 1st, 1745, "The Marquis of Grenville's Regiment came in to-day: some of them were so rude at Dr. Deacon's that he went out of town again."² On January 3rd, Miss Byrom gives an account of a riot which took place in consequence of the "Presbyterians" (this is the young lady's expression) carrying up and down effigies of the Pretender and breaking windows generally. On the day following many complaints were made to the Magistrates: among others, "Lady Lever went, because Dr. Deacon's house was hers, but they were very rude to her and told her Dr. Deacon was a Jesuit and must not live in town, if she would meddle with nobody, nobody would meddle with her, she must sell him up, give him warning for he must not live in town."³ It is tolerably easy from a perusal of these entries in Miss Byrom's Journal to picture the course of events. Lady Lever was evidently the owner of Deacon's house in Fennel Street; the "seizing of his goods" was a friendly act as is evidenced by the fact that four of Deacon's children were taken to Lady Lever's house. For some weeks it must have been a dangerous matter for Deacon to be seen in town, but the excitement soon passed away, and he was able to spend the remainder of his years, if not in peace and happiness, at least in freedom from bodily attacks.

It is now time that the fate of the "Manchester Regiment" should be related. On the main body of Charles Edward's Army reaching Carlisle, Colonel Francis Townley⁴ was left in that city, with the

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. ii, p. 404.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 406.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 407.

4. "There can be no doubt that had he (Townley) been Governor, the place would have held out to the very last, for when acquainted with the terms of capitulation he flew into a great passion with Colonel Hamilton, declaring that it was better to die with the sword than to fall into the hands of the damned Hanoverians." (Introduction, p. 28, "Jacobite Papers," Vol. ii.

remainder of his regiment, under the direction of Hamilton, the Governor of the place. The surrender to the Duke of Cumberland was made on 30th December, 1745, and then was commenced the march of the prisoners to London, which ended in the executions on Kennington Common on 30th July, 1746. Robert Deacon was ill at the surrender of Carlisle and was conveyed southward so far as Kendal, where he died. He may be said to be "*Felix opportunitate mortis*" for the fate, towards which his brothers Thomas Theodorus and Charles Clement were hastening, was awful in the one case and calamitous in the other. I shall pass by the proceedings in London in connection with the trial of the prisoners,¹ but will quote a few passages from the dying speeches of some of those with whom this memoir has special concern.

A small pamphlet was published in Edinburgh in the year 1750, entitled, "True copies of the dying declarations of Lord Balmerino and others"² (including Syddall, Beswick, and Deacon). Before proceeding to consider some of these speeches, it should perhaps be said that Charles Clement Deacon on account of his

1. The following is a copy of the indictment made before the Special Commission appointed for the trial of the prisoners which sat at St. Margaret's Hall, Southwark, on the 23rd June, 1746. I quote it from p. 28 of Vol. ii. of the "Jacobite Papers":—"Not having the fear of God in their hearts, not having any regard for the duty of their allegiance, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil, as false traitors and rebels against our present Sovereign Lord, the King, their Supreme, true, natural, lawful and undoubted Sovereign Lord, entirely withdrawing that cordial love, true and due obedience, fidelity and allegiance which every subject of right ought to bear towards our said present Sovereign Lord the King; also devising (and as much as in them lay) most wickedly and traitorously intending to change and subvert the rule and government of this Kingdom—and also to put and bring our said present Sovereign Lord, the King, to death and to destruction, and to raise and exalt the person pretended to be the Prince of Wales (during the life of the late King James II. of England) to the Crown and Royal State and dignity of King, and to the imperial rule and government of this Kingdom."

2. What appears to be a complete copy of this pamphlet is to be found in the British Museum. An abbreviated copy is also in the Manchester Reference Library, from which is omitted, among other things, the remarkable postscript to T. T. Deacon's speech.

extreme youth was left in gaol for further consideration of his sentence. He parted from his elder brother on the morning of 30th July when the latter was taken for execution to Kennington Common.¹ The speech of T. T. Deacon is a long and very uncompromising composition.

"The deluded and infatuated vulgar will no doubt brand my death with all the infamy that ignorance and prejudice can suggest: but the thinking few who have not forsaken their duty to God and their King will, I am persuaded, look upon it as being little inferior to MARTYRDOM itself. I am just going to fall a sacrifice to the resentment and revenge of the Elector of Hanover and all those who have espoused the cause of a *German usurper* and withdrawn their allegiance from their only rightful, lawful, and native Sovereign King James III. I profess I die a member, not of the Church of Rome, nor yet of England, but of a pure Episcopal Church which has reformed all the errors, corruptions, and defects, that have been introduced into the modern Churches of Christendom: a Church which is in perfect communion with the ancient and universal Church of Christ by adhering uniformly to Antiquity, Universality, and Consent: that glorious principle which if once strictly and impartially pursued, would, and which alone can, remove all the distractions and unite all the divided branches of the Christian Church. This truly Catholic principle is agreed to by all Churches, Eastern and Western, Popish and Protestant, and yet unhappily is practised by none but the Church in whose Holy Communion I have the happiness to die. May God of His great mercy daily increase the members thereof, and if any would enquire into its primitive constitutions I would refer them to our Common Prayer Book, which is entitled, "A Compleat Collection of Devotions, both

1. It is stated on p. 37 of the Introduction to the "Jacobite Papers" that "Charles was compelled to witness his brother's execution," but the point does not appear to be established with certainty.

publick and private: taken from the Apostolical Constitutions, the ancient liturgies and the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England: printed at London in the year 1734." I solemnly affirm that malicious report to be false and groundless which hath been spread merely with a design to involve my relations in inconveniences, 'that I engaged in this affair through their persuasion, instigation, or even compulsion.' On the contrary, I was always determined to take the first opportunity of performing my indispensable duty to my Prince, which accordingly I did, without consulting or being advised to it by any friend on earth.

Lord lay not this sin to their charge!

Lord have mercy on me!

Christ have mercy on me!

Lord Jesus receive my spirit!"¹

P.S.—"As the world may very probably expect I should give some particular account of the Prince under whom I had the happiness to serve in the field, and in whose Father's cause I have the honour to die, I must beg leave to assure you that it is a task too difficult for a Demosthenes or a Cicero to perform with justice. I shall only say that I have lived long enough and to good purpose since I have done my duty under the banner of a young Prince who richly deserves what he is contending for."

A note at the end of this P.S. states that it was added on the morning of the execution. What is to be thought of a man who could within a few hours of a horrible death compose a flamboyant note of this description!

Thomas Syddall's declaration contains exactly the

1. The version of T. T. Deacon's speech given as paper 43 of the Jacobite Papers, page 618, is an abbreviation, the reference to the "Pure Episcopal Church" being omitted.

same statement, word for word, of his religious position as is found in the speech of T. T. Deacon. It is certainly probable that this profession of faith was drawn up for them by Thomas Deacon himself, but there are touches of individuality in Syddall's speech, as well as in the one just quoted, which forbid us to think that the unfortunate men had no share in the composition of their dying speeches. Syddall thanks God that he follows the example of his father, denies that he was moved by any wicked motives of revenge, and states that he had no personal interest in the taking of this step, "being easy in his circumstances and blest with wife and children."

Of the others, Andrew Blood professed himself a member of the Roman Church: Thomas Chadwick of the Church of England, "as it stood before the Revolution": and Fletcher and Beswick simply of the Church of England. The speech of "Jemmy Dawson" is written in a simple and affecting style, and his memory has been preserved by Shenstone's beautiful little ballad.

The execution was conducted in the most barbarous manner, so much that the details would be offensive to the modern ear, but may be inferred from the following quotation. Dawson's sweetheart accompanied him to the place of execution.

" She followed him, prepared to view
 The terrible behests of law :
 And the last scene of Jemmy's woes
 With calm and steadfast eye she saw.

.

And ravished was that constant heart
 She did to every heart prefer :
 For tho' it could its King forget,
 'Twas true and loyal still to her.

Amid those unrelenting flames,
She bore this constant heart to see :
But when 'twas mouldered into dust,
Yet, yet, she cry'd, I follow thee.

The dismal scene was o'er and past,
The lovers' mournful hearse retired :
The maid drew back her languid head,
And sighing forth his name, expir'd."

Two interesting letters may be appropriately transcribed in this place from the Kenyon MSS.

No. 1220. Page 476.

Thomas Theodorus Deacon to his father, Dr. Deacon,
at Manchester.

"1746, July 29th, London. Before you receive this I hope to be in Paradise, not that I have the least right to expect it from any merit of my own, or the goodness of my past life, but merely through the intercession of my Saviour and Redeemer, a sincere and hearty repentance of all my sins, the variety of punishments I have suffered since I saw you, and the death which I shall die to-morrow, which I trust in God will be some small atonement for my transgressions, and to which I think I am almost confident I shall submit with all the resignation and cheerfulness that a true pious Christian and a brave loyal soldier can wish. I hope you will do my character so much justice (and if you think proper make use of this) as absolutely to contradict that false and malicious report which has been spread only by my enemies, in hopes it might be of prejudice to you and your family : viz., that I was persuaded and compelled by you to engage contrary to my own inclination. I send my tenderest love to all the dear children and beg Almighty God to bless you and them in this world and grant us all a happy meeting in that to come. I

shall leave directions with Charles to send them some trifle whereby to remember me. Pray excuse my naming any particular friends for there is no end, but give my hearty service and best wishes to them all in general. Mr. Syddall is very well and sends his sincere compliments, but does not choose to write. He behaves as well as his best friends can wish. My uncle has behaved to me in such a manner as cannot be paralleled but by yourself. I know I shall have your prayers without asking, which I am satisfied will be of infinite service."

No. 1220a.

Extract of a letter from the Clergyman who attended upon Mr. Syddall and Mr. Deacon.

End of July, 1746. "Their behaviour at Divine Worship was always with great reverence, attention, and piety; but had you, sir, been present the last day that I attended them, your soul would have been ravished with the fervour of their devotions. From the time of their condemnation a decent cheerfulness constantly appeared in their countenance and behaviour, and I believe it may be truly said that no men ever suffered in a righteous cause with greater magnanimity, and more Christian fortitude, for the appearance and near approach of a violent death, armed with the utmost terror of pains and torments made no impression of dread upon their minds. In a word, great is the honour they have done the Church, the King, yourself, and themselves, and may their example be imitated by all that suffer in the same cause. This short and faithful account of our martyred friends, I hope sir, will yield great consolation to yourself and poor Mrs. Syddall. Poor dear Mr. Charles bears in a commendable manner his great loss and other afflictions, and behaves like a man and a good Christian in all his actions."

It may be taken for granted that the writer of this letter was one of the non-juring clergy who acknowledged Thomas Deacon as their bishop, and it is possible to identify him with the "Mr. Creake," who is said by Lathbury to have assisted the prisoners in the preparation of their speeches.¹

It is impossible to acquit the Government of senseless and savage brutality in the treatment of the officers of the Manchester Regiment. It may be granted that severe punishment was due to Francis Townley, who was a man of affairs, and had acted with deliberate purpose, but to execute and mutilate such ignorant and simple men as Syddall, Dawson, and T. T. Deacon was little short of murder. The cause which they had espoused was irretrievably lost before they joined it, and the occasion was eminently one for the exercise of a wise and tolerant clemency.

A few weeks later, on September 22nd, the heads of Thomas Theodorus Deacon and Thomas Syddall were brought to Manchester and fixed upon the Exchange. This public exhibition of barbarism was followed by a very violent controversy which will shortly be described, but we may now relate the story of Charles Clement, the only survivor of the three brothers. John Byrom laboured unceasingly on behalf of this unfortunate lad who remained in prison for many months. It is stated in a note to Byrom's "Remains,"² that although Byrom was not successful in obtaining the lad's freedom, "yet there can be no doubt the life of the poor boy Charles Deacon was rescued from the fangs of a vindictive Government through the intercession of his father's faithful friend." I doubt whether this statement is strictly accurate. It is more true to say that the Government never intended to execute the lad but was determined on his transportation. Byrom was not able

1. Lathbury's "History of Non-Jurors," p. 389.

2. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. ii, p. 444.

to influence the authorities from this decision, and practically acknowledges his failure in a letter to his daughter Dorothy, written August 4th, 1748. "I have not such good hopes as I had of the young boy being set at liberty—he has some enemies or other that have represented him in so ill a light, etc."¹ The following extract from a letter of Byrom to his wife, 18th June, 1748, may be of interest. "On the 10th June I had been asked to meet Mr. Folkes at Mr. Chas. Stanhope's, where I found likewise Lord Lonsdale, Duke of Montague, and Mr. Stanhope's brother, Lord Harrington, with whom we passed the dinner and an hour or two very agreeably. They asked me a great many questions about the Pretender and circumstances when he was in Manchester, etc., and I told them what I knew and thought without any reserve, and took the opportunity of setting some matters in a truer light than I suppose they had heard them placed in, and put in now and then a word or two in favour of the prisoners, especially Charles Deacon." On the following day, Byrom was again at dinner with Mr. Stanhope, and on this occasion met, in addition to Lord Harrington and other great people, the Duke of Richmond whom Byrom describes, with that touch of sarcasm which is not often wanting in his references to the Whig Government, as "one of our present Kings."² The Duke was one of the Lord Justices for the administration of the Government during the absence from the country of George II. Byrom had written some Latin verses addressed to Lord Harrington on behalf of Charles Deacon, and he had hoped that the Duke might also have read them, but the opportunity was not favourable. On 14th July, however, Byrom was at the Duke of Richmond's house in London to breakfast. There was an eclipse of the sun on that day, and Byrom describes how they "peeped through glasses at it."

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. ii, p. 455. 2. *Ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 448.

"I spoke to the D. of Richmond about Chas. D., but he answered my sayings with the father and son not repenting, and that God himself did not pardon without repentance, to which I did not care to give the reply for fear of exasperating."¹

No further progress was made and on the 11th January, 1749, Charles Deacon was conveyed from the new gaol, Southwark, to Gravesend, for transportation during life.

A few of the Latin verses may perhaps be quoted:—

Parce, plaudentis, Vicerex Iernes,
Caroli fratris gratiâ, poetæ,
Si quid extemplo, tibi carmen ausus
Cudere peccet

⋮

Tres erant, nolim nisi vera fari,
Tres erant fratres mera quos juventus
Nuper abrepit, gladiisque cinxit
Morte luendis.

Unus in vinclis periit priusquam
Carcerum posset loculis novorum
Aeger inferri, febris et quadrigæ
Motubus impar.

Alter ejusdem socio² reatus
Teste, damnatur, moritur, caputque
Nos apud, mori nimium ferendo,
Flebile prostat.

Tertius jam tum puer et scholaris,
Inscius rerum, ferulae pupillus,
Arma pro pomis capiens, suis se
Fratribus addit

⋮

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. ii, p. 451.

2. This refers to Samuel Maddox (see p. 110), who turned King's evidence at the trial of the rebels in London.

Ille, Magnates, meus est et ille
 Civis, et vestrūm petere incitavit
 Indoles, magni sitis O, meoque
 Parcite civi.

This last verse is finely rendered in the translation which Byrom supplied for his daughter Dorothy.¹

“ He is my countryman, my noble Lords,
 And room for hope your genius affords.
 Be truly noble : hear a well meant prayer
 And deign my fellow citizen to spare.”

Byrom's deep religious feeling and love for his native town should be noted in the concluding stanza.

“ Det Deus cunctae bona quaeque genti :
 Hisce presertim Britones fruantur :
 Detque postremum populo salutem
 Mancuniensi.”

We now return to the consideration of affairs in Manchester. The placing of the heads of Deacon and Syddall on the Exchange immediately led to a renewal of excitement. Thomas Deacon made a public act of reverence to the memory of his son by removing his hat and bowing to the poor remains of humanity (see Appendix B, page 187). This innocent and natural action was a cause of a fresh outbreak of political feeling. Few could now be found who would not applaud Byrom's remarks expressed in his ready rhyme.

“ What wretch can blame thee for respect that's paid
 Parental piety to filial shade ?
 If putting off the hat demands a scoff
 What does humanity and brains put off ? ”

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. ii, p. 455.

But charges were immediately raised of the worship of "skull gods," etc., and on the 9th of October, a day appointed for a Public Thanksgiving, the Military in the town evidently considered matters so critical as to warrant them despoiling the house occupied by the widow of Thomas Syddall, who had neglected to illuminate her windows. On this day also a sermon was preached by Josiah Owen at Rochdale, entitled, "All is well: The defeat of the late Rebellion, etc." Owen was not a man to pour oil on troubled waters, as the following passage of a comparatively mild character will show. "A Rebellion fomented by the professed enemies of our liberties, our religion, and our country, and headed not by the Son of a Prince, but the Son of a Stranger, by the Son of one who, from the best historical evidence we can gather, is as far from having the blood royal in his veins as Heaven is from Hell, or Rome from Infallibility: a rebellion nursed by ignorance and superstition, that set up barbarity for its standard and made dreadful havoc of those birthrights it pretended to assert and vindicate: a most horrid and unnatural rebellion this indeed!"

The next stage in the controversy was another sermon, "preached in St. Ann's Church, Manchester, 2nd November, 1746, being the Sunday after All Saints' Day, by Benjn. Nicholls, M.A., Assistant Curate of the said Church and Chaplain to the Rt. Hon. The Earl of Uxbridge." The sermon was entitled "False claims to Martyrdom considered." Speaking of the executed officers, Mr. Nicholls said, "They suffered, but for what?—not for religion, nor righteousness, but for the wicked consequences of a prejudiced attachment to an erroneous principle which has long been exploded . . . Sorry we may be for the untimely end of our fellow creatures, but to honour them with the title of Martyrdom for public offences is to disgrace the character and to blaspheme our religion." Mr. Nicholls referred, in terms of

strong condemnation, to the outward signs of respect paid to the heads, and apparently inferred that the souls of the rebels were beyond all hope of salvation. This sermon was bitterly resented by the Jacobite party in Manchester, and appears to have been particularly offensive to John Byrom. An article appeared in the *Chester Courant* of 11th November, 1746, in which the writer commented very strongly on an account of the state of affairs in Manchester, which had been given in a letter to the *Whitehall Evening Post* of October 11th (see Appendix B, page 189). This was followed by a violent outburst from Owen in the *Manchester Magazine* of November 25th, in which he charges Deacon with adopting politics into his religion (page 192). Deacon made his defence in the *Chester Courant* of Tuesday, December 9th (see page 192). It should be noted that, although the controversy was principally between Byrom and Owen, and Deacon took a very secondary part, yet the whole matter in dispute centred round the position and principles of Thomas Deacon as a non-juring bishop. This is made perfectly clear by the next item in the controversy, which was an article by Owen in the supplement to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the year 1746. This was the famous article in which Owen makes the main charges against Deacon to which reference has frequently been made in these pages (see page 193). But Byrom was preparing a much more serious attack on the principles of Nicholls' sermon of November 2nd, and this appeared in a long poetical "Epistle to a Friend" which was published early in 1747. The verses which appear in the Preface will indicate Byrom's main purpose.

" Out of the Church, to fix our English doom,
There's no salvation, say some Priests of Rome.
Out of the State, some English Priests, as mad,
Affirm there's no salvation to be had.

The same poor bigotry, on either side,
Would make Salvation float upon the tide.
Alike the Smithfield and the Tyburn flame,
For neither Pope nor Parliament can damn."

It was in this epistle that Byrom made an attack on Owen which was hardly excusable, irritating as Owen's methods of controversy undoubtedly were.

"Leave to the low-bred O—ns of the age
Sense to belie and loyalty to rage,
Wit to make treason of each cry and chat
And eyes to see false worship in a hat.
Wisdom and love to construe heart and mien,
By the new Gospel of a Magazine."

The reference to the "Magazine" is of course to the *Manchester Magazine* published by R. Whitworth, the organ of the Whig party. The Tories had perforce to take to the *Chester Courant*.

It could hardly be expected that Owen would remain quiet under accusations of this kind, and accordingly there appeared in this same year 1747, or early in the succeeding year, a pamphlet entitled "Jacobite and Non-juring Principles freely examined in a letter to the 'Master Tool of the Faction in Manchester.'" The "Master Tool" was of course John Byrom,¹ but Deacon also received considerable attention from the hands of this doughty controversialist, whose state of mind may be gathered from the following passage taken from the preface:—

"I have somewhere read of an order of Hottentots where the person installed is plentifully bespattered in a very ungenteel and indecent manner: which he receives

1. The writer of the article on Josiah Owen in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography*, is in error in stating that Deacon was designated the "Master Tool" by Owen.

with great alacrity, as the more indecency, the more honour. In a light somewhat analogous to this I consider your treatment of me in a late 'Epistle to a Friend.' The more abuse, the more honour, the more scurrility you have given vent to, the more distinction you have paid me. I dare tell you that our present government has enemies and what kind of men they are. Be it at Bologne or Avignon or whatever other place that your vagrant Idol keeps up the mock state of a court, I dare tell you that the Man who visits it to procure an absolution for having abjured Popery and the Pretender and sworn allegiance to King George and yet calls himself a good Protestant and a good subject, either affronts other men's understanding or betrays the weakness of his own."

This was a shrewd hit at the incident in Byrom's life to which reference has been made on page 58.

But the most extraordinary portion of Owen's pamphlet is that which is contained in the following passage.

"You undoubtedly know and 'tis fit that every Briton should know that your Manchester friends, well affected ones be sure! have been carrying on a secret correspondence with Rome in order to rivet her chains upon British necks and establish the worship of her "Puppet Show Gods" in Britain. This has appeared from a very extraordinary letter found among the papers of one of the Fellows of the Manchester Collegiate Church, lately deceased; tho' the particular contents of none but this have transpired, many more papers of the like tendency are acknowledged to have been found on the same occasion. The letter had no superscription: and who would imagine that so dangerous a correspondence should, where there were any private ways of conveyance? But it was dated at Rome October 1746, which was some time after the extinction of the late Rebellion, and was wrote by your most Holy Father the Pope's direction and subscribed O'Brian. It abounded with

compliments and expressions of condolence: but the purport of the whole was 'that his Holiness was very sensible of the sufferings and distresses of the Manchester friends, was well pleased with the zeal and services of his partizans amongst the Manchester Clergy, but could by no means admit of a schism in the Church.' "

The first comment to be made on this extraordinary statement is that no confirmation is forthcoming from any source. On the other hand Edward Byrom, eldest son of John Byrom, writing to his father on 7th May, 1748, refers as follows to the second edition of Owen's book. "There are several new and curious things in it, amongst the rest a correspondence carried on betwixt the Manchester Clergy and the Pope relating to a letter which was found among Mr. Cattell's books. You may perhaps remember that all the Clergy at the Old Church had every one letters sent to them from the Pope's Secretary some time since, though they were forged in London." ¹

Owen's charge practically amounted to this: Deacon, with the Fellows of the Collegiate Church had written to the Pope craving to be admitted into the Church of Rome: replies had been received by them through the Pope's legate, and on the death of Thomas Cattell a copy of this paper was found among his books. Dr. Hibbert-Ware² was disposed to think that there might be some foundation for the charge, but it is to be noted that he expressly refuses credit to the story from Owen's statement alone. He considered that in the "letter to the Clergy of Manchester," which is attributed to Thomas Perceval of Royton Hall, and in the curious "Dialogue between Mr. True-Blew and Mr. Whig-Love" (probably by the same author) some additional confirmation of the story was to be found. I have carefully read

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. ii, p. 438.

2. "Foundations in Manchester," Vol. ii, pp. 142-145.

these two pamphlets (which are briefly described below) but I cannot find the slightest trace of independent evidence in favour of Owen's story. Mr. Perceval had certainly read Owen's book and had possibly heard some gossip on the subject, but there is no sign of anything more. All that is required of a historian in these cases is to enquire into the validity of the evidence and to balance the probabilities. In this particular case the statement of Edward Byrom that the letters were forged is to be set against Owen's assumption of their validity : and while it is improbable that such negotiations were ever conducted it is certain that the report once started would acquire easy credence and would not lose anything in being handed on from mouth to mouth. I give below a full copy of the letter as it was found in Cattell's books.

Dear Revd. Sir,

"October 7th, 1746.

I have the honour and happiness to bee his holiness Vice Legate from rome to London. I have recd his orders to return his thanks for your and the rest of your revd. body's firm atachment and principles in our holy cause and tho' wee have not had the Sucksess this time wee are in hopes it will soon bee effected, hee hath often heard grate commendations of all your reverand body and the good principles you have all of you instructded your town in, hee recommends your continuence in the same and as a reward for your faithful Servissess, hee receives your reverend body into our holy church, and hee conjures you and the rest of your body that you pray no more for the Elector of hannover and his family uppon pain of incurring our holy Displeasure, let the consequence Bee what it will for you may depend on our protection to reward you in this life and in our Lady's kingdom, and you may acquaint your towns mens friends that his holiness as a reward for their merit will canonize and rank them with the first Class of martyrs in

heaven and in his Callinder. I have no Sertain acct of our Prince beeing got safe back to France, I have nothing further at present: but recomend you to our holy lady's keeping from

Yours

C. O. Brian.

Had our prince Suckseded his holiness would have raisd your Church and reverand body to grate Dignitys."

It is sufficient to say that the absurdities in this document are many and obvious. The impression is desired to be conveyed that the letter was written by one whose acquaintance with the English language was of a slight description. But no foreigner either spelled or composed after this fashion, and it is not too much to say that the letter is, not merely a forgery, but an extremely clumsy one. On the only evidence that has been produced in this matter it is impossible to dissent from the opinion expressed by the writer of the note in Byrom's "Remains" ¹ that the charge against the clergy of Manchester was of a "trumpery" description.

This writer, by the way, falls into a curious mistake concerning a pamphlet (6d.), published about this time by Thomas Deacon, and Dr. Hibbert-Ware also seems to share in the same misapprehension. It is assumed that the pamphlet related to the controversy aroused in these charges of Josiah Owen, and that it was a reply on Deacon's own behalf against the charge of Popery. I believe that the pamphlet had no reference to this particular point. It was Deacon's "Apologetical Epistle," published in reference to Dr. Conyers Middleton's "Remarks on Two Pamphlets," etc. A copy of this pamphlet is preserved in the Chetham Library, and I have briefly alluded to it in my review of Deacon's "Comprehensive View" in Appendix A.

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. ii, p. 439. Note.

The remaining stages of this controversy may now be briefly noted. There appeared in reply to Owen's "Letter to the Master Tool" a ballad entitled "Sir L—bred Owen, the Hottentot knight"; the reference of course being to Owen's remarks about a custom of the Hottentots as reported on page 127. It is uncertain whether this ballad is to be attributed to Byrom. Some writers consider that it is in too coarse a strain, but there is much in it which reminds one of Byrom's manner.

The ballad was said to be set to the tune of the "Abbot of Canterbury," and is in effect a versification of Owen's book. One verse may suffice:—

" And now I have told you, Sir, what I dare do
I'll attack your friend D-c-n by writing to you :
So then, if you please, you may stand by and look
And mark how I empty my Commonplace Book.
Derry down down, hey derry down."

On this there followed Deacon's second vindication, published under his own name in the *Chester Courant* of 26th April, 1748, from which I have quoted freely in Appendix B. This led to Owen's last entry into the arena with his "Dr. Deacon Try'd by his own Tribunal." This pamphlet is written with a considerable amount of dialectical skill, but is marred by Owen's usual faults of furious invective and reckless accusation. Mention is made in the preface of Deacon's double capacity as "practitioner of physick and caster out of devils at Manchester." He is "a saint of pure Jesuitical complexion": the *Chester Courant* is a "sink of corruption," etc. Owen endeavours to show from the principles which Deacon himself lays down in his Catechism that the vindication of himself is essentially false, and that all the charges brought against him are substantially proved.

Two small contributions to the literature of this period and subject remain to be noted. A letter addressed to the clergy of Manchester, remonstrating with them for

their friendship with Deacon, appeared in 1748, and is attributed to the pen of Thomas Perceval of Royton Hall, who, like Owen, was a strong Whig, but writes with much more restraint and persuasiveness. He remonstrates with the clergy for "countenancing, favouring, protecting and espousing a man who plainly tells you Salvation is not to be expected in your Church, who charges your church with heresy, who has inveigled numbers of your parishioners, so many that (not able to do the business himself) he has ordained a queer dog of a barber, a disbanded soldier of the pretender's who enlisted as a volunteer under him in the late rebellion, and sent for some young fellow from London to help him in his 'pseudo-ministry.'" The 'queer dog of a barber' was Tom Podmore, of whom a brief account is given in a later chapter.

Finally, there appeared a pamphlet entitled "Manchester Politics, a dialogue between Mr. Trew-Blue and Mr. Whig-Love"; the writer (probably Mr. Perceval) makes some fine fun of Deacon's Catechism and of the conclusions into which his friends of the Chapter would be forced, if they continued to follow Deacon's lead. The tone of the pamphlet is unexceptionable throughout, and, although written from a strongly Whig point of view, is a pleasing contrast to the diatribes of Josiah Owen. The introduction is very amusing.

Mr. W. "Sir, pray where do you come from?"

Mr. T. Manchester.

Mr. W. What are you?

Mr. T. A TORY.

Mr. W. Pray speak out, be free.

Mr. T. Sir all I can say is I am a Tory and a MANCHESTER Tory, and if that won't satisfy you I don't know what to say to you."

The whole dialogue is well worth reading: a passage relative to the size of Deacon's congregation has already been quoted on page 100.

I must here conclude the somewhat long drawn out but, I hope, coherent account of what has been sometimes styled the "Byrom-Owen" Controversy. It was in a sense summed up and recorded in a permanent form in a small volume entitled "*Manchester Vindicated: being a compleat collection of the papers lately published in defence of that town in the *Chester Courant*. Together with all those on the other side of the question printed in the *Manchester Magazine* or elsewhere, which are answered in the said *Chester Courant*—Chester: printed by and for Elizabeth Adams, 1749."*

On 21st January, 17⁴⁸₄₉, Robert Thyer, the Librarian at Chetham College, writes to John Byrom¹: "The Chester Papers are at length published but I cannot direct you how to meet with the book in London as I don't find that they are sold by any bookseller there. The Appendix talked of was thought better to be omitted by those whose concern it chiefly was. The reasons assigned were, the things being quite dead, the ridiculousness of the story in itself and the inconvenience that might attend the communicating the affair to a gentleman that was not very likely to make a secret of people's names."

I take it that the matter referred to by Thyer was the story of the "negotiations" with the Pope. Thyer certainly had much to do with the editing of these papers and the preface (the language of which is frankly partisan) was probably written by him. "It was first begun to defend the town of Manchester against the many false and calumnious representations of it at that time and to correct the impertinency of a petulant news-writer whose weekly fardel of politics called the *Manchester Magazine* was almost constantly interlarded with some saucy reflection or other upon the town or some of its inhabitants." The volume contains much interesting matter, especially in the earlier papers: many of the

1. Byrom's "*Remains*," Vol. ii, p. 482.

statements and counter statements which are printed in Appendix B are included in its pages. The later papers, however, are largely concerned with abstract questions such as the contract between King and people, etc., and as a whole the compilation presents the appearance of being very long drawn out. It has, however, a certain value as containing in a concise and intelligible form an account of the controversy in which so many of the foremost people of Manchester were interested in the years 1746-8.

It will have been noted that, although this controversy largely turned upon the presence in Manchester of Thomas Deacon as a non-juring bishop, yet Deacon himself took a very secondary part in the debate. With the exception of the two Vindications of himself, in which he may be said to have borne a not undignified part, there is nothing that can with probability be attributed to his pen. There were more reasons than one for this comparative silence. It was not that Deacon's activity of life and work had largely come to an end, for in the midst of this hurricane of tracts and pamphlets he produced his last and in some sense his most important work, the "Comprehensive View of Christianity." Nevertheless no man could lose wife and three sons within a twelvemonth without being profoundly affected both in body and mind, and Thomas Deacon although little more than 50 years of age was in every sense of the expression a broken man. What now remains is to tell the story of his last few years of suffering and decay.

CHAPTER IX.

Deacon's Last Days and Death: an Estimate of His Life and Character.

JOHN BYROM, writing to his wife from London on August 27th, 1748, expresses a hope that "Dr. Deacon has got rid of his gout and will manage not to have it again,"¹ and on the 21st January following, Robert Thyer in a letter already quoted on page 134 says that "Dr. Deacon is very well and desires his compliments to you." This is the last mention of Deacon in Byrom's Journal with the exception of a short correspondence with William Law concerning the payment of ten guineas to relieve the pressing necessities of Deacon and his family.

There is to be related a final incident in Deacon's ecclesiastical life which has not previously been published. The information is contained in the copy of the MSS. from Edinburgh presented by the Rev. W. Bell as mentioned on page 101. The original MS. is dated December 22nd, 1750, and is in the form of a letter from the Rev. Jas. Linfield, one of Dr. Deacon's Presbyters in London, to the Rev. Mr. David Lyon,² a deacon of St. Andrew's, informing him of the revolt of a Mr. and Mrs. Pierce from Dr. Deacon's communion to Mr. Gordon's. Mr. Linfield enclosed in his account of this

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. ii, p. 459.

2. Interesting reference to Mr. Lyon is to be found in Bishop Forbes' "Journal," p. 33, October 7th, 1764:—"This day we dined at the house of Mr. Lyon, Apothecary, uncle to the Reverend Mr. David Lyon, of Glasgow, where we had an entertainment of about ten courses, substantial and good. Mr. Lyon was formerly clergyman at St. Andrews." It is possible that Robert Lyon, M.A., Presbyter of Perth, who was executed at Penrith on October 28th, 1746 (see "Kenyon MSS," No. 1221, p. 477) was of the same family. His dying speech, every word of which he is said to have delivered, is included in the collection mentioned on p. 115.

matter copies of three letters. (1) From Mr. Pierce to the Doctor. (2) The Doctor's answer. (3) Letter from Mr. Clark to Mr. Pierce. Mr. Linfield states that Mr. Pierce did not await any reply from Dr. Deacon but deserted his communion at once although the Doctor's reply was dispatched on the same day as the arrival of Mr. Pierce's letter.

(1) Mr. Pierce to Dr. Deacon. London, May 1st, 1750.

"I have been considering very deliberately and with my best attention whether it is lawful and proper to join in communion with our old friends and did not know till lately in what manner or with what solemnity they administered the Eucharistic Office, and though I never said or thought them guilty of schism, yet I did imagine they had not everything necessary to that holy office: but upon the examination of this matter and considering the authority of the church I cannot help saying that I am persuaded it is lawful to join with them in all their offices, though I like yours far beyond it . . . And as they have bishops the validity of whose consecrations is indisputable, as there is not one of the other within a hundred miles of this place, and as I have always had some doubt of the regularity of that absent one, I shall not for the future stick to call our old friends my brethren or to communicate with them . . . In matters of faith and practice I think too much caution cannot be used to follow the scriptures and early fathers and councils, but as to forms or matters of discipline I think every national church should have full latitude of power. I would rather stand than kneel on a Sunday: I would administer the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist to infants: I would have some collect or appropriated prayers for the departed: but if that church does not practise these things in this manner and at the same time does not condemn them in any sort, I would not break communion upon those occasions nor refuse if I

was in another place where they were thus used to join with them."

(2) From Dr. Deacon to Mr. Pierce. Manchester, May 4th, 1750.

"... I would have you consider that our old friends profess to be the Church of England and therefore that moment you join them you are answerable at the great day for all the errors, corruptions and defects which are chargeable on the Church of England's constitution as laid down in her liturgy, articles, canons, and homilies. It is a most surprising thing to me, to see persons of sense and piety so particular as to separate from the Church of Rome because she has departed from the Ancient Catholic Church and to communicate with the Church of England which is equally guilty of the same charge. For the case in reality stands thus: if the former has her Pope's supremacy, the latter has her King's, if Rome makes the Eucharistic elements the natural body and blood of Christ, England will not allow them to be the body and blood in any sense. If the first adds articles of faith, the last virtually renounces one. I could proceed yet further but you may possibly imagine I have said enough . . . But I have done, after I have desired you not to take it amiss that it will be impossible for you to communicate with our old friends and me too."

(3) The letter of the Rev. Mr. Clark to Mr. Pierce is interesting as showing how one of Deacon's orthodox and faithful presbyters came to the support of his bishop. Mr. Clark refers to the liturgy used in their communion as the "Clementine Liturgy," and referring to Mr. Pierce's remarks in connection with the English liturgy as it was used by their "old friends," says:—"You do not offer one single proof of your discovering the primitive and Catholic Usages unless you conceive them to be there by the (long exploded) way of meaning and intention. How meanings and intentions and even declara-

tions can make things to exist when they have no being I have neither logic nor metaphysics to understand." Mr. Clark deals also with the question of Deacon's consecration by a single bishop. He declares that this objection would strike against the validity of English consecrations, "The first bishops consecrated here were by one bishop." "Did not Eusebius of Samosata when in exile and military habit consecrate alone and had he not then as much power as when he sat in the chair of Samosata?"¹

It will be remembered by way of comment on this correspondence that there were in London from the year 1733 two communions of non-jurors, the one presided over by Robert Gordon, the last of the regular line, who is of course the Mr. Gordon mentioned by Mr. Linfield: the other owning allegiance to Archibald Campbell and after his death to Thomas Deacon. It is evident that all was not well with Deacon's little communion in London, and it is probable that after his decease the few members who remained either joined the communion of Robert Gordon or dwindled away in process of time. Bishop Forbes, who records his visit to London in 1764, says nothing of any communion of non-jurors except that of Bishop Gordon, and this merely prolonged its existence until Gordon's death in 1779. This letter of Deacon to his recalcitrant follower is the last of his recorded writings. It is worth noting that it is in essential agreement with his first declaration in the speeches of Paul and Hall in the year '16. Deacon never was a "Church of England man." His ideal was always the creation of an Orthodox Catholic Church separate from both England and Rome. It was impossible that he could view the English Church from the same standpoint as Brett who had been brought up in communion with the English Church and had received ordination within it, and he had therefore small sympathy with his "old

1. For Clark and Linfield, see p. 49.

friends" who claimed to be "the Church of England as it stood before the Revolution." This was the standpoint of the original non-jurors, but it was anathema to Thomas Deacon, and in this short statement we see the whole extent of the development of the non-juring movement.

We know little of Deacon's last years, but they were certainly marked by financial difficulty and bodily and possibly mental incapacity. On the 8th March, 1752, Deacon consecrated as bishop Kenrick Price, of whom I have given a short account in the next chapter. Beyond this nothing is known except what is to be inferred from the following letters.

Wm. Law to John Byrom, 1752 : no date.

"I have ten guineas for Dr. Deacon if you would give them him and draw upon me for the same by anyone that comes this way from your town. I should be glad to pay you in that way or any other manner you shall direct." ¹

John Byrom to Wm. Law. Manchester, 1752.

"Rev. Sir : I have ordered my son to pay ten guineas to Mr. Clayton, Chaplain of the old church for the use of Dr. — who is not capable of managing for himself and has been so long unable to follow his business that a numerous family of children, mostly young ones make the friendly benefactions of this nature extremely seasonable. He has continued beyond all expectation, mine at least."

Deacon lingered four months after the date of this letter. He died on 16th February, 1753, and was buried in St. Ann's Churchyard three days later. The entry in the register simply states "Dr. Thomas Deacon, buried 19th February, 1753."

A curious theory is propounded in Bardsley's "Memoirs of St. Ann's" as to the reasons why Deacon should

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. ii, p. 545.

have been buried in the churchyard of that church.² It is to the effect that the clergy of the Collegiate Church were so conscious of the false position in which they found themselves through their complicity with Deacon that it was considered undesirable that the burial should take place in the old churchyard. The clergy of St. Ann's, on the other hand, being free from any such complicity, could safely allow Deacon to be buried in their churchyard. Mr. Bardsley calls this explanation "simple." I should say on the other hand that it is very far-fetched. Political feeling had largely died away: there was no ill-feeling against Deacon at the time of his death, and (if the inscription on the tombstone is to be believed) it was only to be expected that Thomas Deacon would be laid to rest in the same place as his wife, who had passed away nearly eight years previously. Bardsley's statements concerning Deacon are in many cases very wide of the mark, but we may agree with him on one point. "He was laid to rest in an alien soil, the hopeful promise of his resurrection being uttered by alien lips. No two men in the whole town could be more unlike than these, Thomas Deacon and Abel Ward, Third Rector of St. Ann's."

The epitaph on Deacon's tomb is well known, even to many whose knowledge on this subject extends no further. It was probably composed by Deacon himself.



εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ

"Here lie the remains (which through mortality are at present corrupt) but which shall one day most surely be raised again to Immortality and put on Incorruption of THOMAS DEACON, the greatest of sinners and most unworthy of Primitive Bishops, who died the 16th February, 1753, in the 56th year of his age.

2. Bardsley's "Memorials of St. Ann's," p. 85.

And of SARAH his Wife, who died July 4th, 1745, in the 45th year of her age.

The Lord grant unto the Faithful here underlying that they may find mercy of the Lord in that day.—2nd Tim. 1, 18."

ἐν τούτῳ νικᾷ



Mr. Tyerman describes this epitaph as "stilted." It may, however, be contended that it rings quite as true to Christian sentiment as the laudatory inscriptions which are found on the walls of so many of our churches.

I cannot find that Deacon left any will: there is certainly no entry of his name in the Chester Registry. It is difficult to imagine that he had anything to leave except his books, and these, according to Mr. Axon,¹ were sold by auction on March 19th.

It is not a simple matter to submit an estimate of Thomas Deacon's life and character as regarded from the historical standpoint, and apart from any prepossessions of a personal nature. Men of strong character strongly attract or repel, and it would doubtless be possible for any writer, with partisan ends to serve, to make a good case for any view of Deacon's character which would confirm the convictions which originally moved him to undertake the task. It is, however, both possible and desirable to consider the matter from what may be described as the purely critical and historical point of view, and such an estimate is, within very narrow limits, here attempted. The portrait in the Reading Room of the Chetham Library,² a reproduction

1. "Annals of Manchester," p. 90.

2. The inscription on the portrait states that it was presented to the Library in 1860 by Miss Parkinson who was, I presume, sister of Canon Parkinson, the editor of Byrom's Journal. It is almost incredible that no record exists of the gift of the portrait and that no information as to its history can be obtained in Manchester. It is permissible to conjecture that it may have come into the hands of Canon Parkinson from Miss Atherton, great-grand daughter of John Byrom.

of which forms the frontispiece of this work, represents Deacon in the prime of life, at the age of about 40 years, or certainly before the disastrous events of 1745-6 had left their marks upon him. The attire is that of a bishop, with pectoral cross: the forehead is high and well developed, the face narrow but well filled, the eyes piercing, the nose long, the mouth short. Determination is shown in the tightly closed lips and the chin, but I should describe the characteristic expression of the face as genial and benevolent. I suspect that this may prove to be the key to the popularity which Deacon personally possessed. He was a man who made hosts of friends and few enemies, and if my estimate is correct, he would probably be a very acceptable member of any company.

It may appear paradoxical to attribute tolerance to Thomas Deacon, but I should be disposed to say that no really intolerant man could have formed the friendships which Deacon shared with many men of widely differing views. His early association with Dr. Mead, in spite of a complete divergence of religious and political opinions, may be regarded as a prelude to the many friendships formed in later life in Manchester with clergy and laity alike. The relations existing between Deacon and the Manchester Clergy are not by any means easy to understand. Josiah Owen, following the line of all violent and professional controversialists, solved the difficulty by imputing treason and treachery to all the parties concerned. History is not, however, written in this way, and I submit that a truer explanation is to be found in the supposition that beneath Thomas Deacon's unbending 'Orthodoxy' (I used the word in the technical sense in which it was employed by the party of Campbell and Deacon) there was a practical tolerance and a kindly forbearance which would go far to account for the fact that "the Doctor was

respected by most of the Clergy and by most of the laity also." ¹

It may further be said with confidence that Deacon's personal character was of a high order. None of his critics in the bitter controversy of 1746-8 made the least suggestion of personal misconduct or failing. Even the charges brought against Deacon by the fiery Owen were largely of a rhetorical nature, and there can be no doubt that as the father of a large family, as a medical man, and as a Christian pastor Deacon's character was beyond reproach.

It is also due to his memory to say that Thomas Deacon was in the fullest sense of the word a deeply religious man. The popular idea (if indeed the word "popular" may be used in connection with one who is so little known) of Deacon from the religious standpoint is that he was completely immersed in all the ancient practices and customs of the early Church to the exclusion of anything of the nature of what is commonly styled "vital religion." I am free to confess that I shared this opinion, which was confirmed by a careful survey of the part played by Deacon in the 'usages' controversy, and of his earliest works. There is, however, a decidedly more spiritual tone to be perceived in Deacon's later works, and it is impossible to describe Thomas Deacon as a mere formalist or ceremonialist. His reverence for primitive tradition, his devotion to the so-called Clementine liturgy, and his scheme for the re-union of Christendom on the basis of the restoration of all the usages of the primitive church, may be regarded by many as exploded superstitions and will in some measure be criticised by those who are disposed to regard him with most favour. But underneath all these eccentricities and perversities Thomas Deacon possessed a deep sense of religion, and he is not unworthy in this respect to be reckoned alongside with his friend John Byrom.

1. See Appendix B, p. 190. "Chester Courant," 11th November, 1746.

The question naturally arises as to the relative degree of importance to be attached to Deacon's religious and political convictions. It is evident that he had been educated in strongly Jacobite surroundings : it is certain also that his devotion to the Stuarts was preserved to the end of his life. The opinion commonly held by Deacon's adversaries as to the relation existing between his religious and political convictions is succinctly stated by Dr. Hibbert-Ware as follows¹ :—

“ Dr. Deacon in seeking to revive such institutions as were referable to the 4th Century naturally enough considered that his Church was by no means out of the communion of that of Rome, and of this circumstance he made a political boast, as he supposed that if he could find the means of establishing it within the realm, of which he had fanaticism enough to entertain the hope, it would immediately remove all the obstacles which had arisen in the Kingdom towards re-instating on the British Throne a legitimate Popish succession of monarchs in the person of the representative of the House of Stuart.”

Dr. Hibbert-Ware advances this not as his own opinion but as a summary of the charges brought against Deacon and the Manchester Clergy, but it is evident that he is himself disposed to adopt it as a fair statement of Deacon's religious and political standpoint. In a word it comes to this : Deacon's first object was to secure the restoration of the Stuarts ; one great objection to the succession of that line was to be found in the fact that the religion which they professed was Popish : and therefore if a church could be set up which could claim communion with Rome on equal terms the greatest difficulty would be removed. In other words politics was the first thing with Deacon and religion merely took the second place.

I believe that exactly the reverse is true. Deacon's

1. “Foundations in Manchester,” Vol. ii, p. 91.

conception of a pure Primitive Church dominated his whole horizon : he had no conception of the Roman Church as the centre of unity, reconciliation to which was the first necessary step to the reunion of Christendom, and as to his belief in the validity of the claim of the Stuarts to the throne of England, careful examination of his "Compleat Devotions" and "Comprehensive View" will not discover the least trace of any political bias.

I submit then that Deacon's main aim throughout life was the establishment of a True Catholic Church, and that the restoration of James III. was a secondary matter.

The question will then naturally occur as to how far Deacon's life is to be considered a failure in respect to these primary and secondary aspirations. It is difficult indeed to avoid the conclusion that the failure was well nigh complete. I suppose it is true to say that no human being ever becomes all that he might have been, but the contrast between the attainable and what is actually attained has seldom been more strongly marked than in the case of Thomas Deacon. He might have been, had not conscience compelled him to pass his time in a little backwater of the stream of life, a famous theologian, a distinguished physician, or a great bishop, but, when his life drew near to a close in poverty and helplessness, the consciousness of failure must have been almost overwhelming. The "True British Catholic Church" was reduced to a handful of people in London and Manchester, and the final collapse of the Stuart pretensions had involved the loss of his three eldest sons.

There are recurring crises in the history of nations and movements in which men of high character and commanding ability feel themselves compelled to separate from the main body of their fellows and to betake themselves to the "lonely furrow." It is a truism to say that this separation is seldom accomplished without serious loss to the body politic or spiritual which

is abandoned, and no less serious detriment to the section which marks out its own little path. It is evident that so much may be said of the non-jurors in general and of Thomas Deacon in particular. And yet there is one point of view from which the movement of the non-jurors, and the life of Deacon and other leaders of the movement, may be regarded as having achieved a certain amount (limited and qualified it is true) of success. The policy of Sir Robert Walpole of "packing" the Church with prelates and dignitaries of Whig and Erastian convictions was probably of some service to the State, and possibly of some indirect benefit to the Church. The type of religion which was thus created could not, however, be of much value, and a corrective influence was certainly needed. This correcting force was in the first half of the 18th century supplied from without in the influence of the non-jurors, and in the latter half of the century in the preaching of the Wesleys and the establishment of Methodism, but in the succeeding age the revival of religious life within the borders of the English Church was one of the most striking features of the time. Canon Overton has warned us of the danger of painting in too sombre colours the picture of the decadence of the 18th century, but, without falling into errors of this kind, it is impossible to deny that the English Church in the 19th century awoke from the sleep into which she had been carefully lulled in the preceding age. Speaking from a strictly historical point of view, it is a simple matter of fact that the revival of Church life has been on the lines of the teaching and practice of the non-jurors rather than in accordance with the ideals of, let us say, Bishop Peploe or Dr. Conyers Middleton. If we contrast the ideals of Peploe and Deacon and enquire as to the relative influence upon the present age of these two men, so widely separated in religious thought, it must be acknowledged that while churchmanship of the type of Bishop Peploe is now

quite impossible, much for which Deacon contended is now accepted and practised in the Church in which Deacon always felt a warm interest, although he resolutely refused to join in her communion.

Leaving, however, ecclesiastical matters on one side let it be said that Thomas Deacon was a worthy citizen of no mean city. It is perhaps fitting that what is probably his first biography (and will almost certainly be the last) should be written by a Manchester man. None can now be found who will defend Deacon's theories in their entirety; many will consider that they rest upon a fundamentally false basis; some will be able to discover underneath the extravagances of his devotion to primitive custom a substantial basis of truth. But none will grudge the statement that Deacon possessed qualities which were sufficient "to raise the man above the multitude."

I may close this estimate of his life and character by quoting from the *De Providentia* of Seneca a passage which may be considered not wholly inapplicable to the life of Thomas Deacon, the Manchester Non-juror.

"*Ecce spectaculum dignum ad quod respiciat intentus operi suo Deus, ecce par Deo dignum, vir fortis cum fortuna mala compositus, utique si et provocavit.*"

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CHAPTER X.

Postscript.

Deacon's Successors, Natural and Spiritual.

THOMAS DEACON and Sarah his wife appear to have had no fewer than thirteen children. We have already quoted the passage of Miss Byrom's journal (page 114), in which she states that four of Deacon's children were taken to Mrs. Coats' and four to Lady Lever's. There are also to be reckoned the three lads who joined the Manchester Regiment, and the deaths of two children in infancy are recorded on the tombstone in St. Ann's Churchyard. Thomas Deacon had a curious custom of giving each child two names with the same initial letter, and the latter name was always of theological or patristic significance. It is possible to trace the names of ten of the children; the names of the first three are of course familiar to readers of this memoir, Thomas Theodorus, Robert Renatus, Charles Clement. Then follows Sarah Sophia, born in 1731, and afterwards the wife of William Cartwright, of whom some notice is given below. She died on 6th October, 1801, and rests with her husband in the churchyard of St. Giles', Shrewsbury. Richard Redemptus and James Justus died in infancy: Elizabeth Eusebia died in 1750 at the age of ten: Humphrey Hierophilus Deacon of Milk Street, London, left a will which was proved on March 10th, 1789.¹ No one but Thomas Deacon would have given a child such a combination of names, and it is obvious at least to a Manchester man from what source the suggestion of the name of Humphrey was received. Humphrey² mentions his brothers Henry and Edward.

1. "Notes and Queries," Series VI, Vol. iii, p. 38.

2. Humphrey is also mentioned in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1821, p. 131.

Of Henry we know nothing, but Edward Erastus Deacon carried his father's name and profession into the 19th century. Unlike his father, he had the title of M.D., and is described in Elizabeth Raffald's Manchester directory of 1772 as "Surgeon and Man-Midwife of St. Mary's Gate," and in later years appears to have removed to Cannon Street. Some information on this subject is to be found in a series of notes in "Notes and Queries," Series 4, vol. 11, page 194, under the date of 8th March, 1873. They are described as "Leaves in a Note Book," made in 1842 by G. P. Kerr, who appears to have received much information from Mr. W. Sudlow of the firm of Sudlow and Wainwright, Music dealers, Cannon Street. "January 29th, 1842, Mr. Sudlow informed me that a Mr. Walton married a daughter of Dr. E. E. Deacon, who had been educated in a convent on the Continent: he remembered that she had long yellow hair: Mr. Walton possessed the property now called Walton's Buildings in Cannon Street, adjoining which was an entry called 'Deacon's entry.'" In the directory of 1850 Walton's Buildings is certainly the name given to No. 50 Cannon Street,¹ but I have not been able to find any trace of 'Deacon's entry.' Mr. Sudlow also informed Mr. Kerr that a daughter of Dr. Deacon used to reside in Eccles. There is a probability that descendants of Thomas Deacon may still remain in the neighbourhood of Manchester and just a possibility that some family records may be preserved. The discovery of such records would be extremely interesting from many points of view.

There is not very much that can be said about Deacon's successors in the spiritual sphere, but the subject is not without interest. Deacon's little "Orthodox British Church" continued its existence for a longer

1. On further enquiry I find that this name is still preserved on No. 50, Cannon Street, and a small adjoining entry still exists, without name.

time than is generally supposed, as will be seen from the following quotation from Aston's "Manchester Guide" of 1804, page 136. In describing the religious bodies of the town, a special heading is given to the "Non-jurors, as they are generally termed, but as they denominate themselves, The True British Catholic Church, which once made a considerable noise in the world but is now nearly extinct. At that time they had a place of worship under the celebrated Dr. Deacon who was succeeded by a Mr. Kenrick Price, a grocer, and the late P. J. Brown, M.D., who, as well as Dr. Deacon, had the nominal title of Bishops. In their time the Chapel was situated in a yard near St. Mary's Gate, and they were assisted in their ministerial labours by a Mr. Cartwright. The present bishop is a Mr. Thomas Garnett, who, it seems, does not exercise the episcopal office, and the congregation, now reduced to about 30, is under the care of Mr. C. Booth in Long Millgate, who in his own house performs the functions of a priest." This statement is a perfectly correct account of the later history of Deacon's Church, but I may be permitted to give some fuller account of the men whose names have been briefly mentioned. Mr. Kenrick Price's consecration has already been noted on page 141. He was a grocer in St. Mary's Gate: his name appears in the directory down to the year 1788. According to the writer in "Notes and Queries," Series 4, vol. 11, page 194, Mr. Price resided near to Coup's Spirit Vaults, and in that neighbourhood the last non-jurors met for worship. It is certain that, in Deacon's time, his house in Fennel Street was the non-juring place of worship. Owen, in "Dr. Deacon Try'd," refers in his polished style to "Thomas Deacon, priest, alias Dr. Deacon, has a schism shop in Fennel Street in Manchester where he vends his spiritual packets and practises his spiritual quackery on Sundays." It appears that when Kenrick Price succeeded to the charge, the

little Church met in St. Mary's Gate, either at Mr. Price's house or in some building used by him in his business.

Dr. P. J. Brown was a physician in the town. His name appears in Raffald's directory for 1773, at which time he lived in Marsden Square. It appears probable that he was consecrated by Kenrick Price, but so far from succeeding him (as stated in a note in Byrom's "Remains," vol. 2, page 623) it is certain that he predeceased Price by many years. It has been stated that Dr. Brown's real name was John Johnstone, and that he was the younger son of the Marquis of Annandale, but there is no proof to be discovered in support of this theory. A letter from Dr. Brown to John Byrom is preserved in the journal on page 617, vol. 2.

Returning now to Mr. Price, it is known that he travelled to Shrewsbury in 1780 to consecrate William Cartwright (q.v.), and that he died in Liverpool on the 15th September, 1790. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1792, page 808, states that he copied the following epitaph but, aggravatingly enough, neglects to give the name of the Church. "On the north side of this churchyard rests the body of Kenrick Price who for more than 37 years without the least worldly profit presided over the orthodox remnant of the Ancient British Church in Manchester with truly primitive Catholic piety, fervent devotion, integrity and simplicity of manners, and every trait of character which could adorn the life of an unbeneficed primitive bishop. He died September 15th, 1790, in the 69th year of his age and the 39th of his episcopate. May he find mercy of the Lord in that Day! He was consecrated March 8th, 17⁵¹₅₂." ¹

Mr. Kerr, in the volume of "Notes and Queries"

1. I have made a careful search of the Churches of S. Mary, Walton, S.S. Peter and Nicholas, Liverpool, and of the registers belonging to them; also of the registers of the demolished Churches of S.S. Paul and George; but no trace is discoverable of Bishop Price.

previously referred to, states that on January 25th, 1842, the Rev. Joshua Lingard of St. George's, Hulme, told him that "Bishop Price's pastoral staff was preserved and on January 15th 1844, he visited Scaitcliffe, near Todmorden, the residence of John Crossley, Esq., and there saw the head of the staff of the last non-juring bishop. It was made of wood and gilt but the staff itself was lost."

William Cartwright¹ (b. 1730) was a native of Newcastle. He married Sarah Sophia Deacon, and is described as one of Dr. Deacon's presbyters in London where he lived until 1769. He probably received ordination from his father-in-law but no record exists. Thomas Lathbury writes to "Notes and Queries" (Series 1, volume 2, page 175, 1st March, 1856) that he has in his possession a copy of Deacon's "Compleat Devotions" on which is this inscription—"To his worthy and much esteemed friend, the Rev. Mr. Prytherick from Wm. Cartwright. E.O.B.P." The initials of course stand for Eccles. Orthod. Brit. Presbyter. Mr. Cartwright had further written on the frontispiece, "After Mr. Prytherick's death this book was given back to me at my request. W.C." This book had the additional title alluded to on page 101 as being authorised by the bishops of the Orthodox British Church. In 1769 Cartwright removed to Shrewsbury where he practised as an apothecary. In 1780 he was consecrated by Bishop Price who came over from Manchester for that purpose, and after the death of the latter in 1790 he apparently assumed episcopal control over the remnant in Manchester. Bishop Cartwright

1. See Bishop Forbes' "Journal," p. 35, October 14th, 1764:—"This evening drank tea with the Rev. Mr. Cartwright at his own house—one of Dr. Deacon's clergy who had visited me several times at our lodgings where free and open conversations passed between us without any manner of reserve. He is married upon one of Dr. Deacon's daughters, and appears to be a person who has it at heart to promote the interest of religion upon true, genuine, Catholic principles, and as one that asketh for the Old Paths."

died in communion with the English Church and received Holy Communion in his last illness at the hands of the Rev. W. G. Rowland, to whom we are indebted for the statement that Cartwright was accustomed to dress in purple cloth, and that the late Bishop Horsley very much surprised a party of Shrewsbury people by maintaining that William Cartwright was as much a bishop as he himself. Mr. J. Allen writes in "Notes and Queries," Series 2, volume 11, page 208: "In the graveyard attached to St. Giles', Shrewsbury, lie the remains of the last (sic) Non-juring Bishop of England under a gravestone bearing the following inscription. Underneath lie the remains of WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT who died 14th October, 1799, age 69. Also the Remains of SARAH SOPHIA CARTWRIGHT Wife of the above who died 6th October, 1801, age 70." Cartwright and his wife had one son to whom was given the name of his ill-fated uncle, Thomas Theodorus. He appears to have predeceased his parents.

Mention must be made in this connection of Thomas Podmore "the learned barber." Thomas Perceval in his letter to the clergy of the Collegiate Church says, "If you are unable to cope with the Doctor you certainly are able to deal with Podmore, the barber, or what is your learning worth." It is certain that Podmore was an enthusiastic admirer of Thomas Deacon, and was the author of a pamphlet entitled "The layman's apology for returning to Primitive Christianity, showing from the testimonies of ancient and the concessions of modern writers that the Greek, Roman and English Churches, as well as the pretended churches of the anti-episcopal reformation, have each in some degree departed from the doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church, and pointing out A pure episcopal church in England which teaches ALL the ordinances of Christ and His Church in their Evangelical Perfection. Written in the year 1745 by Thomas Podmore at that time Barber and Peruke

+ By their Parents We Thomas Deacon
by Divine Providence a Bishop of the Catholic Church
in England, make known to all men, that upon Sunday
(namely) the Eleventh day of December in the year of our
Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty eight, We
the aforesaid Thomas Deacon Bishop as before men-
tioned, holding by the assistance of Almighty God the Office
of Ordination in our Cathedral Church of Manchester in
the County of Lancashire, did according to the

Copy of Official Record of Thomas Podmore's Ordination.

(From the original MS. in possession of the Manchester Free Reference Library).

maker in Manchester." The work was published at Leeds in 1747 at the Price of 2/6 "stitched." Podmore strongly recommends Deacon's "Devotions" and "Comprehensive View," and as to the pure episcopal church, "If anyone would know where such a pure, perfect church as I am recommending is to be found I will tell him in one word at MANCHESTER." Podmore was ordained to the diaconate on December 11, 1748, but never advanced beyond that degree. The official record of this ordination, in Thomas Deacon's own handwriting, has recently come into the possession of the Manchester Free Reference Library, and as stated in the Preface, I am under deep obligation to Mr. C. W. Sutton, the chief librarian, for his kindness in making it possible to insert a reproduction of the document in this work. It will probably be considered as of more than ordinary interest, as being the only existing record of Thomas Deacon's episcopal acts. The impression of the seal is not perfectly preserved but it is possible to trace (but not, unfortunately in the reproduction) the outline of the pastoral staff, and the inscription, "Feed my lambs." It may be noted that the date given, "in the 16th year of our Consecration" confirms the generally accepted belief that Deacon was Consecrated in the year 1733. The names of the witnesses to Thomas Podmore's ordination are inscribed on the back of the document and are as follows :

Kenrick Price.
George Newton.
James Chadwick.
Geo : Langton.
Richd : Owen.
W. Pashley.

With the exception of Kenrick Price (q. v.), nothing is known of these followers of Thomas Deacon. In later years Podmore assisted Bishop Cartwright at Shrewsbury, who wrote the following brief notice on his decease.

"On Sunday last died in his 81st year the Rev. T. Podmore, for some years Master of Millington's hospital in this town and many years a deacon of the "Orthodox British Church" of whom in a few words it may be gently said 'he was pious and faithful and a peaceable honest man, an Israelite indeed.' " The following memorial exists in the hospital :—

M. S.

Rev. Thomas Podmore
Ecc. Orth. Brit. Diac.

Ob : 10th April, 1785. Age 81.

May he find mercy of the Lord in that Day.

In 1842 Mr. Moore, Bookseller of Back King Street, had in his possession a copy of Podmore's "Apology" which contained a pedigree of the Podmore family. Copies of the work are still occasionally offered for sale in Manchester.

Four years before his death Cartwright consecrated Thomas Garnett, and Garnett consecrated Charles Booth, who was the last of the irregular bishops referred to by Macaulay in the 14th chapter of his "History of England." "Another left what he had called his see and settled in Ireland and at last in 1805 the last bishop of that Society, which had proudly claimed to be the only true Church of England, dropped unnoticed into the grave."

APPENDIX A.

A Review of Deacon's Published Works.

It is intended to give in this Appendix a fuller account of Deacon's works than was found convenient in the text. Some appreciation may be given here of Deacon's literary style. I have referred in an earlier portion of this work to the facility of writing his mother tongue which Deacon undoubtedly possessed. Deacon's language is remarkably pure; his style is both vigorous and elegant, and altogether it is a very pleasant task to read one or two consecutive chapters of any of his works. The reader may perhaps have noted that Deacon was an excellent letter writer. A brief synopsis of his letters has been prepared as a third Appendix to this work, but we may now proceed to consider his larger works in some detail. I have numbered them in the order of publication.

I. "The Doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning Purgatory proved to be contrary to Catholic tradition and inconsistent with the necessary duty of praying for the dead, as practised in the Ancient Church." 'By Thomas Deacon, Priest.' 'Prove all things hold fast to that which is good,' printed for R. King at the Queen's Head in Paternoster Row, 1718.

The copy in the possession of the Reference Library, Manchester, bears upon its title page the name written in bold hand of 'William Murray,' but lower down on the same page is written in a different hand, and probably of much earlier date, "Purchased in Edinburgh in the year 1745," which may be taken as evidence of the fact that the work had some circulation when a quarter of a century had elapsed from its publica-

tion. The most interesting portion of the book is the short dedication to Dr. Brett. It is written in excellent English, as is the case with all Deacon's writings, and speaks "of our known zeal for Primitive Christianity in opposition both to Popery and Calvinism," and declares Deacon's purpose "to strip the Papal Sect of the glorious title of Catholic, which without any right she assumes to herself." It may be noted that both this work and Campbell's "Middle State" seem to have had in view not so much propagation of doctrine concerning an intermediate state as a defence of the non-jurors against the charge of Popery. They are both largely filled with arguments intended to prove that the Roman Church has departed from the ancient tradition. Deacon's preface, which is long in proportion to the work, may be quoted as exemplifying his standpoint as to tradition. "Protestants have argued against tradition although at the same time they argued against their Bible which does itself receive tradition. A tradition which is general and uninterrupted, delivered or practised by all Christians, and contradicted by none, must be followed. By such tradition we prove the lawfulness of Infant baptism, the observance of the Lord's Day, and the Divine right of episcopacy—the Divine authority of the Scriptures cannot be proved otherwise than by tradition." At the end of the preface Deacon states very clearly what he conceived to be the peculiar characteristics of the Church of Rome which made communion with that Church unlawful. "The Pope's universal supremacy; transubstantiation, and the adoration of the Host; Communion in one kind; taking the Apocrypha into the canon of scripture; the invocation of saints and angels; purgatory fire between death and resurrection; the worship of images and the material cross." Finally Deacon takes the very extraordinary standpoint that communion with the Roman Church is impossible because she does not regard the

mixture in the chalice as essential, but merely enjoins it and practises it as a primitive custom. Deacon's statement of his own ecclesiastical position may well be quoted. "A particular Catholic Church is a rightful bishop with his clergy and the laity united to them, professing the true Christian faith without the addition of false doctrine, and practising the necessary Christian worship without corruption."

As to the subject matter of the book it is thought hardly necessary to give space for quotations, but it may be pointed out that it follows on very similar lines to Archibald Campbell's "Doctrine of the Middle or Intermediate State of Departed Souls," published first in 1713 and again in 1721. This work contains on the title page the so-called Vincentian Canon "*Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus.*" The preface deals largely with charges of Popery and the work is on a much larger scale than Deacon's "Purgatory." Quotations are given from Scripture and the Fathers on a scale which is almost fearful to contemplate. I refer principally to the work that I may quote (and with this I conclude this notice) a declaration from the preface, which will serve to show exactly what Campbell and Deacon held as to the condition of the departed.

"That there is an intermediate or middle state for departed souls to abide in between death and the resurrection, far different from what they are afterwards to be in when Our Blessed Lord Jesus Christ shall appear at His Second Coming.

That there is no immediate judgment after death.

That to pray and offer for and to commemorate our deceased brethren is not only lawful and useful but also our bounden duty.

That the intermediate state between death and the resurrection is a state of purification in its lower as well as of fixed joy and enjoyment in its higher mansions.

M

And that the full perfection of purity and holiness is not to be attained in any mansion of Hades, higher or lower, as that any soul of mere man can be admitted to enter into the Beatific Vision in the Highest Heavens, before the Resurrection, the Trial by fire which it must then go through."

II. The New Communion Office of 1718. This has been so fully described in the text that little more need be added here. The Rev. P. Hall in his "*Fragmenta Liturgica*" states that two editions were published, both in London, one 12° and the other 8°. The smaller edition appears to have been specially printed for the bishops of the Scottish Church.

III. "Private Devotions before, at, and after the Christian Sacrifice," published by J. Smith, Cornhill, in 1720, and intended as a companion to the Communion Office. This little manual is commonly attributed to Deacon and presents an aspect of his character which is not too prominently brought before us in his writings. Deacon was a great controversialist and a hard fighter, but he surely must have had what may be described as a pastoral side to his character, and we obtain a glimpse of this in his little manual of devotions. It is "recommended to the orthodox laity" and is divided into two parts, one containing devotions to be used privately at home, the other being concerned with prayers at the public service. In both of them copious adaptations are made of Scriptures and the Eastern Liturgies, but it may be noted by the curious in these matters that Deacon borrows one prayer, and one only, from the Latin rite, the well known prayer said at the mixture of the chalice. "*Deus qui humane substantie dignitatem mirabiliter, etc.*"¹

1. "O God, Who didst wonderfully create and yet more wonderfully renew the dignity of man's nature, grant that by the mystery of this water and wine we may become partakers of His Divine Nature, Who vouchsafed to become partaker of our manhood, Jesus Christ Thy son, Our Lord."

IV. "History of the Arians and the Council of Nice, etc., written in French by Mr. Sebastian Le Nain de Tillemont," and translated into English by Thomas Deacon. London, 1721.

Deacon had a special reverence for Tillemont, who was a scholar and theologian after his own heart. Tillemont was one of the Port Royal Jansenists and studied under Nicole, who is usually reckoned as second to Pascal himself in point of eminence. There was indeed much similarity between the Jansenist and the Non-juring movements, for although the Doctrine of Grace was originally the distinguishing mark of the Jansenists, it may be contended that the real aim of the movement was reform of the Catholic Church by means of a return to primitive tradition and practice. A parallel to some of the restorations of ancient usages by the English Non-jurors is to be found in the revival of public penance by the Jansenists. No better summary can be found of Tillemont's historical methods than the description given by Du Pin in his "*Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*," quoted by Deacon in his preface, of which I append a few passages.

"Sebastian Le Nain de Tillemont was born at Paris 30th November, 1637. He received virtue, religion, and piety with his milk: he was ordained priest in 1676—he began when he was but twenty years old to read Ecclesiastical History and continued to the time of his death (1697) to study that part of learning with incredible diligence and without any interruption: in order to execute this design he applied himself closely to the reading both of ecclesiastical and prophane authors as well ancient as modern, and from their works he collected everything that concerned those persons or facts which could come into ecclesiastical history or have any relation

thereto. There is nothing of his own in the body of the work except some short observations which are put between two crotchets. These works of M. Tillemont are the product of a prodigious labour and almost infinite industry and are compiled with all possible exactness."

It would be wholly unsuitable to attempt any account of Tillemont's history in the present work. It may be said that it is perhaps the most perfect example of thorough-going historical research, which was such a signal characteristic of all those who, on either side of the Channel, were bringing forth to light the doctrines and practices of the early Christian Ages.

The preface which Deacon writes to his translation may perhaps be considered worthy of a brief quotation. "When I reflect upon the open and daring attacks which have of late years been made upon the doctrine of the Trinity and consider at the same time how much the number of the enemies to Our Lord's Con-substantiality and Co-eternity is increased and how nearly all Christians are concerned to maintain the Catholic Faith, I cannot but think it a proper time to give an account in English of the old opposers of Our Blessed Saviour's Divinity, the several methods they took to promote their heresy, and how the primitive Church and the Arian party managed in this dispute. Mr. Tillemont has exhausted the historical part of this matter and by reading his history of Arianism we shall find that modern hereticks tread exactly in the steps of their predecessors and translate both their arguments and their practice. Mr. Tillemont, the author, has a particular manner of writing history, for he does not give us an history of his own, extracted from other authors, but he collects together all that has been said upon the subject, both from ancient authors and the best modern ones, ranges the passages in a proper order and if he adds anything

of his own, he puts it between hooks, so that while we are reading him, we are really reading the several authors cited in the margin."

A few of the names of subscribers to Deacon's translation are given below. The whole list is most interesting: it contains the names of many clergy in various parts of the country including the Dean and several Prebendaries of York, and many of Deacon's friends and colleagues among the non-jurors.

The Rev. Mr. John Blackburn, M.A.; Thomas Bowdler, Esq.; Rev. Thomas Brett, LL.D. (7 copies); Hon. Archibald Campbell, Esq.; The Rev Jer. Collier, M.A. (6 copies); Rev. Mr. J. Griffin; Rev. Mr. S. Jebb; Mr. Roger Laurence, M.A.; Richard Rawlinson, LL.D., F.R.S.; George Smith, Esq.

It may be noted that the non-jurors did not publicly use the title of "Rev." except and unless the title was generally recognised. This meant in practice that only those who had received ordination while in communion with the English Church were so styled. Thus, Collier and Brett, although Bishops, are merely styled Rev.; Campbell, as receiving his orders from the Scottish Episcopal Church, which at this time was proscribed by the State, and Laurence, although a non-juring priest, received no clerical title whatever.

It will be noted that at this early period there are to be found none of the names of Deacon's Manchester friends who supported him so warmly on later occasions. We do, however, notice the name of the Rev. John Copley, M.A., at that time Rector of Thornhill, Yorkshire, and Fellow of the Collegiate Church, Manchester.

It is doubtful whether the book had much success, at least from a financial standpoint. In a letter written to Byrom, ten years later, when the translation of Tillemont's "History of the first Six Centuries" (see page 169) was being prepared, Deacon says:¹ "The reason

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. ii, pp. 96 and 99.

he did not set his name was because he had found by former experience that it did him a mischief, some people being too cowardly and mean to encourage a thing with his name to it."

V. "Remarks on the Rev. S. Downe's Historical Account of the Several Reviews of the Liturgy of the Church of England." This was published in 1722 as an Appendix to Griffin's "Common Christian Instructed." It is largely occupied with answers to criticisms of the new office, and has been briefly referred to in the text. Two additional points may be noticed.

(a) Dealing with the statement that the Usagers in reality objected to the first Prayer Book of Edward VI., as much as to the established liturgy, Deacon remarks that, "they certainly would have been content with Edward VI.'s liturgy, but after the schism had been made they felt at liberty to make further alterations."

(b) Deacon concludes with some strongly hostile remarks concerning the influence of Calvin, Bucer, and Peter Martyr on the subsequent revisions of the Prayer Book.

VI. Translation of a portion of Tillemont's "Ecclesiastical Memoirs of the first Six Centuries," published in 1733, and a second volume two years later.

No small portion of the interest which is attached to this work is to be found in the correspondence which took place between Deacon and Byrom prior to its publication. Deacon is seen at his very best in this connection, and I append copies of a few of the letters which passed between the two friends.

Dr. Deacon to John Byrom, February 21st, 1733.

"Dear Grand Master: You have been too busy to read a letter and I to write one; you are employed .

among the great folks of whom you will have your bellyful before you have done; however you are doing a great deal of good in your generation, by which you are become the darling of Manchester; and you must expect upon your return to meet with nothing but crowns and laurels, ovations and triumphs. While you have been thus employed for the public I have been narrowly confined in thinking of my own private gain; and at last my orthodox brain has hammered out the project which our brother Clayton will lay before you, concerning which I have two things to beg of you, first, that you would correct and then that you would promote it, might and main, whenever you have an opportunity. The success of it will be of mighty consequence to me, and that makes me so earnest in desiring you will not omit asking one single soul that you have the least prospect of. I know your sincerity and you have lately given sufficient proof of your diligence, and therefore I shall not use many words; but only that I have Tillemont as much at heart as the Presbyterians have the workhouse.¹ May you defeat the one and advance the other. If you know Dr. Hooper's address, send it me and I will write to him: and do you send him some proposals. I have no Cambridge friend but yourself, so that all the assistance which that University will afford me must be by you. Your family is well. Our women desire to be remembered to you. My head and hands are full as well as yours. Adieu."²

Byrom took the matter up with his accustomed energy and on the 13th April writes in his Journal: "At five o'clock went to Mr. Rivington's and he ordered 50

1. The dispute about this building is the matter which Deacon refers to at the commencement of the letter. The erection of a new workhouse was the subject of a violent controversy between the High Church party and the Presbyterians.

2. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. i, p. 471.

proposals of Dr. Deacon's to be sent to Abingdon's."¹ Eight days later Deacon writes again of the progress of his work.

"Dear Grand Master :

I wish you joy of your victory.² I told you you must think of nothing but ovations and triumphs. I wish my Tillemont had conquered as bravely. I hope you have got proposals enow by this time. I beg you will send a parcel to our brethren Lloyd and Houghton at Cambridge, for I have no acquaintance there but a slender one with Mr. Wrigley to whom I have written. If you should go thither before you see this country I doubt not but you will work for me. I wrote to Dr. Hooper in London. I am glad I got a specimen to please you at last, but it was a difficult matter, for I am afraid Tillemont is too pious and too much a Christian for your acquaintance. I find you are become a master of Dukes and I know not who : go on and prosper. I am too busy to write a regular letter or a long one. Clayton does bravely for me at Oxford, and I hope I shall be enabled to usher Tillemont into the world which, I declare it, I would do for the sake of the public, without any view to myself, if my situation was above all views. But I must endeavour to serve myself as well as the world, and I wish I may serve both. Good-bye to you and remember that I am your dutiful Warden, etc. Mrs. Warden desires to be remembered to you."³

On April 26th Byrom records that "he carried 18 proposals of Dr. Deacon's to Dr. Williams in Bury Street, who promised to carry them to Cambridge the next day," and on the 27th we have a further letter from

1. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. i, p. 490.

2. See p. 167. Note.

3. Byrom's "Remains," Vol. i, p. 496.

Deacon which I cannot refrain from inserting here on account of its intrinsic merits and interesting references.

Dr. Deacon to John Byrom, April 27th, 1731.

"Dear Grand Master: I received yours this morning and write again so soon to answer all your difficulties. I did not imagine but you would meet with such objections from your people and therefore always thought the chief service you could do me would be at Cambridge and in this country. I cannot tell yet what success I shall have till my returns come in to my proposals, which are but just dispensed. And yet, by what I can hitherto guess, I am in hopes that I shall be able to publish, for I am resolved to finish the first volume though I get nothing for it, that the world may see the work. But as to such questions as are asked you, you may when you do not think proper to say more, answer that the translator is your friend and to your certain knowledge goes on his own bottom, without having anything to do with booksellers: but, when and where you think proper, tell them the translator is a non-juring parson who mortifies himself with the practice of physic (*pour accomplir sa penance*), and condescends to a half-crown subscription rather than prostitute his conscience: that the reason why he did not set his name was because he had found by former experience that it did him mischief, some people being too cowardly and mean to encourage a thing with his name to it. You were certainly right to speak to Whiston and everybody, let them do what they will. You may tell Whiston it is done by one who has the restoration of Primitive Christianity at heart as much as himself, and is a friend to the Constitutions, though he cannot go all his lengths, being not quite so hasty in his judgments, but agrees with him in his wishes, foundations, and designs. I intend to go to the press as

soon as ever I am assured of subscriptions enow to bear me harmless, but not before. I am glad you like the work. I hope other people will do the same when they see it. Excuse the trouble I give you and I thank you for me. Adieu."

The work was published in 1733 in London "for the benefit of the translator and sold by J. Wilford at the three Flower-de-luces, behind St. Paul's Chapter house, and W. Clayton, Bookseller in Manchester." It contains a literal translation of Volume I. of Tillemont's "Ecclesiastical Memoirs," which comprehends the time of our Lord and the Apostles. There are no remarks of Deacon's except those contained in the brief preface, which, with the list of subscribers to the work, may be considered of importance to a biographer of Deacon.

Two objections are briefly answered in the preface. First, that Tillemont was a Roman Catholic. To this Deacon replies that Tillemont is simply an honest and learned collector of facts, and that any remarks of his own are put between crotchets. "So that the reader is safer with Mr. Tillemont than with any other author of any communion, for it is his own fault if he be deceived." Secondly, that Tillemont's works are voluminous to an extraordinary degree. To this Deacon answers "Had they been less voluminous they had been less valuable." I must not close this short review without transcribing a passage which shows what Deacon's plans were as to the completion of his enterprise. "I had never set about so laborious an undertaking if persons of far superior judgment to my own, had not concurred with me in opinion that it would be of greatest service to the Church, the Clergy, and common Christianity. And as it is now a considerable number of years since I first began upon it, the public may be assured that if it meets with encouragement the press shall never stop till the whole is finished."

There is reason to think that the necessary encouragement was not forthcoming. A second volume was issued in 1735, but no further progress appears to have been made. Nevertheless the list of subscribers contains a large number of names, due doubtless, in no small measure, to the energy and perseverance of John Byrom in collecting proposals for his friend. One naturally turns in the first place to names of prominent non-jurors, who may be represented in the list, and it is apparent at once that the number of these is very small. It has been pointed out in the text that by 1733 the non-juring body was rapidly shrinking in point of numbers, and it is not to be forgotten that Deacon was now almost alone in his ecclesiastical position and purpose. I can find only the following names of those who may be styled non-jurors in the strict sense of the word. Thomas Bowdler, Esq.; Hon. Archibald Campbell, Esq.; Samuel Jebb, M.D., of Stratford in Essex; Richard Rawlinson, LL.D., F.R.S.; Roger Laurence, M.A.; George Smith, Esq., of Burnhall, in the Bishopric of Durham; and the Rev. Mr. Thomas Wagstaffe. Deacon's Manchester friends appear in great force. Among the clergy we find Revs. Adam Bankes, Henry Brooke, Robert Assheton, Fellows of the Collegiate Church; Revs. Richard Assheton and Thomas Cattell, Chaplains; John Clayton, Curate of Salford; and N. Banne, Rector of St. Ann's.

Among the laity are to be found the names of Sir Ralph Assheton of Middleton (last of that line); the Hon. Lady Bland of Hulme; Robert Booth of Salford, and John Byrom, A.M., F.R.S.; Mr. John Dickenson; John Egerton, Esq., of Tatton Park; Philip Egerton, Esq., of Oulton; Darcy Lever, Esq., of Alkrington; and many others. Other interesting entries in the list are: Brasenose College Library in Oxford; the Manchester Library; and "Mrs. Cecilia Collier"; this last unusual Christian name at once attracts attention, and

points to the fact that Deacon's mother had married a second time. I have briefly alluded to this in the text on page 15.

VII. "A Compleat Collection of Devotions both public and private, taken from the Apostolic Constitutions, the ancient liturgies, and the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England. In two parts I.: Comprehending the Public Offices of the Church, humbly offered to the consideration of the present Churches of Christendom, Greek, Roman, English, and all others. Part II.: Being a primitive method of daily private prayer, containing devotions for the Morning and Evening and for the antient hours of prayer, nine, twelve, and three: together with hymns and thanksgivings for the Lord's Day and Sabbath, and prayers for Fasting Days: as also devotions for the Altar and Graces before and after meat: all taken from the Apostolic Constitutions and the ancient liturgies and recommended to the practice of all private Christians of every Communion: to which is added an appendix in justification of this undertaking: consisting of extracts and observations taken from the writings of very eminent and learned divines of different communions. And to all this is subjoined in a Supplement 'An Essay to procure Catholic Communion upon Catholic principles,' London, printed for the author and sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster, 1734, price bound in calf six shillings." The mere reading of the title of this work is sufficient to show the comprehensive scale on which it was conceived. It is obvious that to attempt a review of the work would demand much more space than can be given here. I shall content myself by pointing out one or two notable features. In the first place the following letter, dated 10th September, 1733, may be inserted.

The Rev. John Clayton to the Rev. John Wesley.

"Dr. Deacon tells me that he had no view in fixing the psalms for common days : but after reading your letter is convinced of the expediency of serving any of those three ends you mention. The feasts and the fasts were the days he principally regarded, but he would take it as a favour from you if you would communicate to me any improvements you may possibly make in it : he desires in the meantime that you would let us know your thoughts upon the matter, because his order for reading the psalter is likely soon to see the light, with a collection of primitive devotions which even now is in the press."¹

The conception of John Wesley as aiding Thomas Deacon by suggestions as to the arrangement of the psalter in his forthcoming work is a new and interesting one, and it is a matter of regret that so little is known of any relations which may have existed between Deacon and the Wesleys.

Deacon lays down in his preface two principles upon which his work is founded. They may be stated briefly thus :—

I. The best method for all Christians to follow is to lay aside all modern hypotheses, customs, and private opinions, and submit to all the doctrines, practices, worship, and discipline not of any particular but of the ancient and universal Church of Christ from the beginning to the end of the fourth century.

II. That the Clementine liturgy in the Apostolic Constitutions is the most ancient and pure Christian liturgy extant : that the Constitutions contain the doctrines, laws, and settlements which the three first and purest ages of the Gospel did with one consent

1. Tyerman's "Oxford Methodists," p. 35.

believe, obey, and receive : and that therefore the said book ought to be received, submitted to, and allowed its due authority.

All the devotions contained in the book were taken from the Constitutions with the exception of such parts of the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England as were necessary to complete the design. No practice or ceremony was omitted that appeared to be supported by antiquity, universality, and consent. On these grounds Deacon recommends his "Devotions" to every pious Christian as the Oldest and therefore the Best Collection of Devotions extant in the whole Christian world.

The public offices of the Church which are provided in the Book are very many in number. In addition to the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer, there are Prayers for "Catechumens, Energumens, and Penitents," with special forms for admitting to each of these conditions : offices for Baptism, Confirmation, Matrimony, Ordination, etc. The attempt at a revival of primitive discipline in the case of "Energumens" or persons possessed by evil spirits will certainly provoke a smile, and it was probably this portion of Deacon's public offices which caused Owen to describe him as "caster out of devils in Manchester."

Deacon makes very considerable use of the English Prayer Book in his order for Morning and Evening Prayer, and in the occasional offices, but the Holy Liturgy is purely and simply the Clementine Liturgy, shortened in some places, but as a rule literally translated, with the exception of the insertion of the *Pater Noster*, which, as is well known, does not appear in the Clementine Liturgy. Deacon certainly had the gift, which is not by any means common, of translating ancient forms of prayer into devotional and melodious English.

The differences between the two liturgies of 1734 and

1718, although considerable, were not fundamental. In the older form after the *Ter Sanctus* there followed the short recital of instances of Divine Providence taken from the liturgy of St. James. Following this again came the Words of Institution, with the Oblation and Invocation from the Clementine Liturgy, and the Prayer for the Church in the words of I. Edward VI. It was here that the divergence between the two forms was most marked. What may be called the Consecration Prayer in the later form is taken bodily from the Clementine Liturgy. It includes the very long recital of Providential Acts in the midst of which the *Ter Sanctus* is placed; the consecration proper with the oblation and invocation and the prayer for the whole Church following, together with the ancient "Holy Things For Holy Persons."

It is an extraordinary incident in religious history that this liturgy, which was probably never used in any Church and which certainly contains some unscriptural allusions,¹ should have been brought to life and made the expression of the devotion of a handful of people in London and Manchester. Campbell used it in London, and the use was certainly continued for some years after his death. In Manchester the liturgy continued for a considerable number of years as I have related in Chapter X.

The late Bishop Dowden of Edinburgh in his "Annotated Scottish Communion Office" refers to one small phrase contained in that office which is directly taken from the Clementine Liturgy.

The rubric at the Offertory reads "Then the Presbyter, or Deacon says 'Let us present our offerings to the Lord

1. *e.g.*, In the preface to the Recital of the life of Our Lord, "The high priest (was pleased) to be himself a sacrifice, the Shepherd a sheep, to appease thee his God and Father and to reconcile thee to the world." And at the close of the Invocation, "Thou being reconciled unto them O Lord Almighty." It is only necessary to contrast this language with that of St. Paul, "to reconcile all things to himself."

with reverence and Godly fear.' ” This is a literal translation, and according to Bishop Dowden was taken directly from Deacon's Liturgy of 1734. The option given to the *deacon* to say the sentence is also an instance of Oriental practice. The point is perhaps not without interest as showing the sole remains, so far as public use goes, of the attempt of Deacon to revive the so-called liturgy of St. Clement.

The second part containing Private Devotions has a separate preface in which Deacon advises his readers “to follow the excellent counsel of Mr. Law, in his ‘Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life, p. 244.’ The passage contains a suggestion that each Christian should reserve for himself a particular place for his private devotions. ‘Your own apartment would raise in your mind such sentiments as you have when you stand near an altar, and you would be afraid of thinking or doing anything that was foolish near that place which is a place of prayer, and holy intercourse with God.’ This reference to Law deserves notice in view of the assistance freely rendered by Law to Deacon in his last days, see page 141.

No one can read the Private Devotions without being profoundly impressed with the depth and reality of Deacon's religion. He comes largely before us in these pages as a controversialist who knew how to lay about him, but there was another and a more worthy side to his character which is clearly and unmistakably found in his Private Devotions.

There is an appendix in justification of the undertaking, consisting of writings of various divines. I must find space for a brief notice of one of these. It is the Rev. John Wesley's “Essay upon the Stationary Fasts,” from which Deacon quotes freely. Mr. Wesley assigns to the Primitive Church a plenitude of authority in quite as clear and unconditional language as Deacon himself was accustomed to use. “The celebrated rule

of St. Austin has never yet been controverted. 'That which is held by the universal Church and was not instituted by councils but always was, is delivered down from the Apostles.' "

Deacon also inserts some observations of his own concerning the Apostolic Constitutions, in which he endeavours to defend them against the charge of Arianism. Finally he prints an essay, which he says he discovered accidentally among his papers, entitled, "An Essay to procure Catholic Communion upon Catholic Principles." This essay has been attributed to Dr. Brett; the style certainly bears a strong resemblance to that of Brett's "Collection of Liturgies."

It may be interesting to record the inscription written by Deacon on the first page of the copy of this work, which is preserved at Chetham College.

Liber
Bibliothecae Pub. Mancuniensis
Ab
Humfrido Chetham Armig:
Fundatae
Ex dono Authoris.

VIII. "A pamphlet in three parts containing: (1) the form of admitting a convert, (2) a litany for such as mourn, etc., (3) prayers on the death of a member of the Church."

This was published in 1746, but strange to say no printed copy appears to exist in Manchester. A full MS. copy in Deacon's own writing is included in the MSS. referred to on page 26. The year of its publication was that in which the two years' confinement of Charles Clement Deacon in Southwark New Gaol began. Whether the cover of the book on which his name is written contained exactly what it now does, is of course a matter of doubt, but it may be that Deacon wrote this

copy for the use of his son. In the form of admitting a convert the Bishop or Priest who officiates declares his purpose "to admit the persons here present into the communion of our Church as into that of a pure and sound part of Christ's Holy Catholic Church": and the question put to the candidate is "Dost thou desire to be admitted into this branch of the Catholic Church militant here in England, which hath reformed all the errors, corruptions, and defects that have been intruded into the modern Churches of Christendom, whether Rome, England, or others." Confirmation and ordination in the English Church, as received through "a real but unorthodox bishop," are acknowledged, but are to be completed by anointing with the Holy Chrism. In the case of a cleric the question was to be put "and since thou hast received the order of deacon or priest in that unsound and defective Church to which thou didst belong, art thou desirous to have the said order allowed in our Church, etc."

It is not improbable that, when Deacon composed this form, he had in mind the possibility that some of his friends of the Manchester Clergy might "come over" to his little community. Great as his influence over the clergy undoubtedly was, there is no evidence to show that it was sufficient to stretch so far as to cause any defection on the part of any of the clergy from the Church to which their allegiance was due.

"The litany for the use of those who mourn for the iniquities of the present times, and tremble at the prospect of impending judgment, etc.," need not detain us long. There is one characteristic sentence, "that we may be delivered from all scandalous compliances," and another, "that the hearts of the national clergy may be touched with a true sense of their erroneous doctrines and practices, and that none of them may prefer their private fancies before the consentient tradition of the Church in the purest and early times."

It may be worth noting that a reprint of this litany was made at Shrewsbury in 1797 by Bishop William Cartwright, Thomas Deacon's son-in-law.

"The prayers on the death, etc.," present no feature which has not already received notice in these pages.

IX. "A full, true, comprehensive View of Christianity, containing a short historical account of Religion from the Creation of the World to the 4th century after Our Lord Jesus Christ: also the Complete duty of a Christian in relation to Faith, Practice, Worship, and Rituals, set forth sincerely without regard to any Modern Church, Sect, or Party, as it is taught in the Holy Scriptures, was delivered by the Apostles, and received by the Universal Church of Christ during the four first centuries: the whole succinctly and fully laid down in two Catechisms, a shorter and a longer, each divided into two parts, whereof the one comprehends sacred history and the other Christian doctrine. The shorter catechism being suited to the meanest capacity and calculated for the use of children: and the longer for that of the more knowing Christian, to which is prefixed a discourse upon the design of the catechisms and upon the best method of instructing youth in them." 1747.

The book was sold by S. Newton in Manchester: various booksellers in London: also at York and Rochdale.

The mere reading of the title will probably cause feelings not far removed from amusement, and the labour necessary to the production of the work must have been stupendous. The "View" is truly "Comprehensive." No list exists of the subscribers to the volume, but there is strong reason to believe that Deacon's Manchester friends supported him to a very considerable extent. The quotation which I give from "Manchester Politics" is not, I suppose, very wide of the mark.

"Mr. True Blew : 'Has not Dr. Deacon published an excellent Form of Devotions, and a new Catechism : and does anybody but the people of Lancashire approve of them? And would it be safe for our beneficed clergy to write in defence of these books? No, sir, as the lion sends out his jackal, so are our clergy by the Doctor's book trying how the game lies : if they should have a good effect we should have the advantage : if not you know we need not own that we know ought of the matter.'

Mr. Whig-Love : 'But did the clergy of the Church of England buy these books? I thought they had been intended for the use of his own congregation.'

Mr. T. : 'His own congregation were about twenty before the late hurry and now perhaps not above sixty that *publicly attend him*. Sir, I assure you they were intended for the use of several of our Church. Why, sir, the clergy themselves solicited subscriptions for him. The first impression, which I heard was 700, was sold off in a few weeks, and the second, which was said to be still larger, is almost all disposed of.' "

It is certainly the case that a second edition was published in 1748. A copy of each edition is to be found in the Manchester Reference Library. It is unnecessary to make any detailed account of the work beyond saying that it may be described as the "Compleat Devotions" turned into the form of question and answer, with a complete explanation of all that was taught and practised in the "Orthodox British Catholic Church." Deacon applies the word "Sacrament" to no less than twelve offices, including five small ceremonies in connection with Holy Baptism.¹ This appears strange to

1. Deacon's twelve Sacraments are as follows :—The two greater Sacraments of the Gospel, five lesser Sacraments in connection with Baptism, such as Exorcism, etc., also the Sign of the Cross, Imposition of Hands, Unction, Holy Orders and Matrimony."

those accustomed to the later English restriction of the term to the two Sacraments of the Gospel, but it is to be remembered that the word had a much looser significance in the early ages. It was in the first four centuries that Deacon really lived, and his definition of a Sacrament would not appear strange to an average Christian of the third or fourth century.

It may be worth noting that Bishop Dowden states on page 331 of his "Annotated Scottish Communion Office" that Deacon's Catechism was used by Bishop Jolly in Aberdeen down to the year 1829, so that there may be persons now living whose immediate ancestors were taught the Christian religion according to what has been described as "Dr. Deacon's learned but somewhat arid catechism."

I append a passage from the section entitled "The best method of teaching the catechism to children." It presents Deacon in a very natural and not unfavourable light. "The best catechists would be the fathers of families if everyone were well instructed and careful to teach his children and domestics. They would do much more good than Priests and Pastors can. We explain the catechism to children only at Church, upon certain days, and go through it in a short space of time: numbers of children are there together and their minds are usually distracted by the company and the several objects which strike them on all sides. From hence comes the trouble that there is to make them attentive, as well as interruptions and reprimands which take up half of the time appointed for the catechism. When you are turned to one side the other go out of their places: if you apply yourself to one child ten others will play: you have always to begin over again. On the contrary, in the house children are always more recollected, because they are more free. If they have not that fear about them which renders them sometimes immovable at Church, yet their thoughts are more undis-

turbed. A father that has but three or four to teach, who have been accustomed to respect him, has no trouble to keep them to their duty : he has them every day with him : he may make use of that time when they are of the most teachable disposition : he knows their capacity, genius, and inclinations. He can instruct them at his leisure and spend all the time upon them which is necessary. And indeed this must be a work of time : for as children cannot apply themselves much at once, the instruction must be often repeated and continued for several years, advancing as their minds and manners form themselves. What I say of fathers, must be understood of mothers proportionately, especially with regard to daughters : and I say nothing here but what I have seen and known by experience."

X. "An Apologetical Epistle to the Author of Remarks on two pamphlets lately published against Dr. Middleton's Introductory Discourse in which the Preface to those Remarks is considered : by the Author of a Full, True, and Comprehensive View of Christianity, etc. : London, printed for J. & J. Rivington, in St. Paul's Churchyard, and S. Newton, Bookseller in Manchester, 1748, price 6d."

The title of this pamphlet sufficiently explains the reasons of its publication. Dr. Conyers Middleton (1683—1750) of Trinity College, Cambridge, is famous for his disputes with Dr. Bentley, and was engaged for the whole of his life in controversies of a more or less acrimonious description. He was strongly opposed to Roman theology and published in 1729 a letter from Rome condemnatory not merely of ceremonies properly styled Roman, but of all which might claim the sanction of primitive antiquity. Dr. Middleton was an Old Testament critic of what was then regarded as a very advanced type, and it is probable that his personal position was far removed from orthodoxy. That he was

at the opposite pole of religious thought from Deacon is evident from the quotation which I subjoin from the preface to his Remarks in which he refers to Deacon's Comprehensive View. "The author of these catechisms appears to be a man of sense and learning: warmly persuaded of the truth and importance of what he delivers, and delivering it with much piety and gravity, and with more candour than we commonly observe in writers of his zeal and principles. The plan also of Christianity which he has proposed to us seems to be a fair and just representation of the discipline of the primitive church, or of such a part at least as he thinks fit to recommend to the practice of the present age. And if we grant him his main principle that unwritten tradition, as it is exemplified by the universal practice of the ancient Fathers and Churches, is of Apostolic origin, we must grant likewise that all the rites and doctrines which he has deduced from it are the essential parts of the Christian religion and of equal obligation with the Gospel itself. I could never consider these plans of Primitive Christianity, when published by Protestants, in any other light than as preliminary articles offered to the Church of Rome as the ground for a treaty of peace and reconciliation in which the few remaining points of difference might easily be accommodated. I am a perfect stranger to the author of this piece, nor have any other knowledge of his character than what has been signified to me by his writings and the report of common fame. The warm expressions of piety and devotion which run through his whole performance oblige me to think him an honest man.

Fame also has informed me that he lives up to the character which his book points out to us: practises what he professes and is an example of that discipline which he prescribes to others."

Deacon's reply deals almost entirely with the charge of being Popishly affected, and is of interest as showing

his attitude to the Roman Church in his latter days. He points out that Popery "has a very vague and undefined meaning and that Dr. Middleton ought to have given a precise definition of what it really is, abstracted from popular ignorance and prejudice. For want of this we are quite at a loss, because some things which you call Popery are in reality pure Christianity, and others that are universally taught and practised by Protestants are rank Popery." Deacon then proceeds to quote from the 30th Canon of the Church of England concerning the "Sign of the Cross," from which he concludes that the idea of Popery conceived in this Canon is the same with his, but "you on the contrary seem to place it in agreeing with the Church of Rome in any doctrine, practice, or ceremony whatever, whether true or false, material or indifferent, Primitive or really Popish. You are pleased to say that I have gone as far towards Popery as I could possibly do, while I yet retain the name of Protestant. I assure you, sir, if I had not better arguments to hinder me, your way of talking would drive me into the Church of Rome; and I wish that you are not the unhappy instrument of sending many persons thither; as to the name "Protestant" I never claimed it, and own that I have no juster title to it than to that of "Papist." No, I disclaim them both. Christian is my name and Catholic my surname. Excuse me for using the noble saying of one of the old despised fathers."

Finally I may be permitted to quote one more passage as illustrative of Deacon's attitude to the English Church.

"I assure you that I am sincerely well affected to her, as far as she agrees with her own declarations, cited in the beginning of this epistle, but I cannot help wishing her perfectly reformed according to her own rule from all Popish and Calvinistic errors and

defects : and if this is being disaffected to her present constitution, I freely confess I am so."

It may be claimed that a complete account has now been given of all the works which are beyond question to be attributed to the pen of Thomas Deacon, but in the MS. Catalogue of the Library of the Rev. John Clayton there are to be found under the name of Thomas Deacon the titles of the following works concerning which no knowledge now remains.

- " Dr. Waterland imitated in his controversial management of Mr. Johnson." 1738
- " Translation of Bishop Beveridge's ' Concio ad Clerum.' "
- " Family Prayer." Manchester, 1738.
- " Devotions for Catholic Christians." Liverpool, 1747.

All the above works appeared to have been printed, but mention is made of a MS. which would be extremely interesting to read. In 1733 Edward Byrom, elder brother of John Byrom, published a "Serious Dissuasive from Horse Races;" this pamphlet is entered in the catalogue of the Manchester Reference Library under the name of John Byrom, but in John Clayton's MS. catalogue the name is clearly that of Edward, and it may be attributed without much doubt to the elder brother. A pamphlet followed, entitled, "Remarks on Mr. Byrom's Dissuasive;" this is usually attributed to the Reverend Thomas Cattell, and is in the form of a mild rebuke of the extreme puritan attitude adopted by Edward Byrom. Thomas Deacon appears to have made a comment on Cattell's pamphlet, and it is entered under his name in John Clayton's catalogue as "Remarks upon the Remarker," etc.

APPENDIX B.

Quotations from the "Byrom—Owen" Controversy of 1746-48.

The purpose of this Appendix is to record passages originally written in connection with the controversy of 1746-8, and containing a considerable amount of information concerning parts of Deacon's life about which little is known from any other source.

1. From *Whitworth's Manchester Magazine*, of September 23rd, 1746.

Manchester, September 22nd. Last Thursday about five in the morning the heads of Thomas Siddall and Thomas Deacon were fixed upon the Exchange. Great numbers have been to view them and yesterday betwixt eight and nine in the morning, Dr. Deacon, a non-juring priest and father to one of them, made a full stop near the Exchange and looking up at the heads pulled off his hat and made a bow to them with great reverence. He afterwards stood some time looking at them : a gentleman of this town was with him and a considerable number of spectators were present. He and some of his flock have been seen to do so before several times.

2. From the *Chester Courant*, 28th October, 1746.

Manchester, October 21st. The 9th inst. being the day appointed for a Public Thanksgiving was observed here with all the marks of loyalty and joy suitable to so

glorious and happy an occasion. There is among us a poor woman, Mrs. Siddall, late wife to one of the unhappy persons whose heads have been fixed up here and at present a distressed widow, deprived of her family's chief support and burthened with five young children, who being too much swallowed up in her own private calamity to enter into the public rejoicing or show any marks of joy upon an event, which tho' happy to the whole, is melancholy and fatal enough, God knows, to her, neglected to light her candles: upon which a party of soldiers along with some townsmen assaulted her house in the most violent and outrageous manner, not only breaking the windows and demolishing the shutters and the very frames of the sashes, but even threatening to lay it level with the ground: so that she was forced to fly with her children to a neighbour's house and to leave her own to their mercy. The scandal too of this illegal, injurious, and inhuman action was aggravated by its being done within six yards of the principal guard, the sentinel walking at the very door without any offer to prevent it, and not forty from the house where the officers and civil magistrates were celebrating the day. I shall conclude with a piece of wit handed about here, severe indeed, but just enough, I must own, upon this occasion.

By the bare letter of the text, a laic
Might think the times were very Pharisaic:
Long prayers to Heaven are in the morning poured,
At night behold, the Widow's house devoured!

Yours, PHILELEUTHERUS MANCUNIENSIS.

It is scarcely necessary to remark that the above composition, prose and verse alike, is universally attributed to John Byrom.

3. From the *Whitehall Evening Post*, 11th October, 1746.

Extract of a letter from Manchester, dated October 6th, from a person whose credit may be depended upon.

"At present this town is but a rough place. *Down with the rump: Down with the Hanoverians, Presbyterians: Down with the King*, is so familiar to us that we expect it as soon as daylight is over, though some have been so impudent as to shout it in open day. But we have had some of Bland's dragoons here, near a fortnight, and now our people begin to be a little quieter. Jacobite, Non-juring, and even Popish Principles are now making a greater progress here than ever, being propagated with equal industry and success. The two rebel heads are revered and almost adored as trophies of martyrdom. The father of one of them (who is a non-juring bishop) as he passes them frequently pulls off his hat and looks at them above a minute with a solemn, consequential smile. Some suppose he offers up a prayer for them, others to them. His church daily increases and he is in the highest credit and intimacy with most of our clergy."

Remarks on the above published in the *Chester Courant*, 11th November, 1746.

Manchester, October 27th. A stranger, when he is told that "Popish principles are propagated with equal industry and success and are now making a greater progress here than ever," must naturally suppose that we have a great many papists among us, and that the number is much increased of late. Now God be thanked, to the confusion of this slanderer, it is our peculiar happiness to have fewer in proportion of that denomination than any large populous town in the Kingdom. But I fancy he will have recourse to the

old canting evasion of *Papists in disguise, Papists in their hearts, Popishly affected, etc.*, by which terms a certain set of people mean all those who are strenuous asserters of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, as well against fanatical latitude and negligence as popish tyranny and superstition. He is pleased in the next place to descend to a particular charge against Dr. D——n, of this place, whom he styles a non-juring bishop. As to pulling off the hats, not being quite so great a bigot as to refuse to speak to a non-juring bishop, I asked the Dr. how far it was true? And he assured me that he had never passed by his son's head but once, and then indeed he did pull off his hat. Not caring to be so free as to ask him the reason, I shall suppose with the faithful relator that it was either to offer up a prayer to him, or for him; the first is too absurd to deserve an answer, and the latter if true is a practice, which tho' disputed among the divines of the Church of England, yet humanity can hardly tell how to censure. The increase of his Church truly is a matter of more concern, but here I cannot help smiling at the word Church, brought in, not I daresay out of any respect to the word, but to insinuate as if it was some great and numerous assembly, dangerous to the body politic, whereas upon the strictest examination I cannot find above a score and those too of no great figure or substance who are partakers with him in his religious singularity. What connection is there between politics and the Dr.'s restoring primitive ecclesiastical usages? What has his Mixt Cup, Infant Communion, Trine Immersion, etc., to do with King George and the Pretender? The last stroke of his malice is at the clergy here for their respect forsooth to the Dr. The Dr., I own, is respected by most of the clergy, and to please this writer, I will add, by most of the laity too. What then? I could name to him in turn several rigid dissenters in the highest credit and intimacy with some

of our clergy; and if it be wrong (which indeed is a new doctrine to me) for the clergy to respect and converse with people of different opinions in religion, I think the character of a clergyman of the Church of England in much less danger from his acquaintance with a non-juring bishop than with a Calvinistical Dissenter.¹

4. From the *Manchester Magazine*, 25th November, 1746.

Manchester, 20th November. The Jacobite pensioners in the poetical way having acted their part and their wit being near exhausted, their champions in prose, their masters of reasoning and argument, are now ordered forth from their club on duty, to keep up the spirits of their friends and support the character of one of their leaders, a practitioner in Physic, and a Priest (not of the Church of England) who is endeavouring to strengthen his Master the P.'s interest, and party, as much as ever he formerly weakened it by his physical pill. That this advocate of the party might have an opportunity to show his skill he has reprinted an extract of a letter in the *Evening Post* with remarks. I beg the next time he meets with Dr. D——n he will put the question to him again, and I daresay he will find that the Dr. will own he has paid his devotions to the heads often: and let not his modesty prevent one request more, that he may be satisfied whether any internal reverence was designed to them or not. Praying for the dead and bowing to the relicts of rebels, though he says it is a disputed doctrine of the Church of England divines, he will find very few that allow of it, except they are some of Dr. D——n's Manchester acquaintance. How great a friend the Remarker himself may be to such doctrine

1. It is generally thought that Byrom was the author of these Remarks, but I am disposed to think that they are to be attributed to some other member of the Jacobite party, possibly to Thyer, the Librarian. In the next extract it will be seen that Owen hints at the appearance on the scene of a new writer.

is very easily seen in his winking at and encouraging the increase of the Dr.'s Church, a church among whose articles are purgatory and praying for the dead, and which is contrary to the Church of England in doctrine, discipline, and usages: for he would make us imagine that there is no harm in the toleration of it by putting an evasive question, "What has the Mixt Cup, Trine Immersion, Infant Communion, etc., to do with King George and the Pretender?" Why nothing, as we all know as well as he; but that is not the case, for his new converts are not so much in love with his cup, his communion, or immersion, as with his rancour and disaffection to the present Government, and none can become members of the one that are not enemies to the other. "The last stroke of malice," says this meek and benevolent Remarker, "is at the clergy." But what would anyone think of a clergyman who assisted in the composing of his liturgy, and of another who acted in a military capacity and headed a party in defence of his house, which was darkened in contempt of the rejoicings on the evening of the Thanksgiving Day, and the sense of the town.¹

5. From the *Chester Courant*, Tuesday, 9th December, 1746.

This is written under Thomas Deacon's own name.

I find myself obliged out of a sincere regard to truth and for my necessary vindication to send you the following declaration. "Whereas an anonymous writer in *Whitworth's Manchester Magazine* of November 25th has thought fit to make free with my name and taken upon him to assert that I adopt the political principles of indefeasible and hereditary right, etc., into my religion and make these an essential part of it, and that none can become members of the Church to which I

1. It is scarcely necessary to say that this anonymous writer is to be identified with Josiah Owen.

belong that are not enemies to the present Government, I do hereby declare that the same is utterly false; that I adopt no political principles into my religion, but what are expressed in our Common Prayer Book entitled 'A Complete Collection of Devotions' which is entirely free from all objections of this nature; that the form of admitting a member into our Church has not one word in it relating to State matters; and that I have told the new converts mentioned by this author that I hoped they did not apply to me upon the account of national affairs and government prayers, for that we went upon a quite different scheme.

6. From the Supplement to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1746.

Dated December 19th, 1746, and signed "Philopatriæ" (who was undoubtedly Owen): a reply to the Remarks on the letter in the *Whitehall Evening Post*.

"To say that the enemies of Protestantism and the present Government are Popishly affected, you insinuate to be no more than a *canting evasion*. But who are the *certain set of people* you mention that make use of the canting evasion above. Name your certain set if you dare and then let the world determine. It seems according to your estimate of things—that the character of a clergyman of the Church of England is much less dangerous from his acquaintance with a non-juring bishop than with a Calvinistical dissenter. I understand you sir; better be a Papist than a Presbyterian—better be an intimate of Dr. D——n, a non-juring priest, who absolved Justice Hall and Parson Paul at the gallows after the Rebellion in '15: who declared publicly to them at Tyburn that the fact for which they dy'd was meritorious; who in consequence thereof had warrants issued out against him from the Secretary of State's office, and thereupon was sent and supported by

the contributions of the party to study physic in Holland, since which he returned to England and has lived unmolested at M——ster; better be an intimate of Dr. D——n's who had three sons in the late Rebellion, and declared to a gentleman of distinction that he should have thought himself obliged to join in it, only that he had a dispensation to excuse him; and who while the rebels were in Manchester had the very distinguishing honour paid him of being escorted by a file of musketeers to the Pretender's lodgings; better be an intimate of this man's than of a Calvinistical dissenter that is a friend to King George, Liberty, and the Constitution."

7. From the *Chester Courant*, 21st April, 1747.

This is probably from the pen of John Byrom, and is a reply to the foregoing letter in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

"I must, in compliance with a challenge which this hero in a desperate pother gives me, tell him who I mean by the *certain set* I mentioned. I mean by this certain set, that tribe of sectaries who have for more than a century past shown the utmost enmity and hatred to the Church of England, exemplified this hatred once by a total subversion of episcopal government, and again with an interested servile compliance with a Popish Prince in his Popish designs merely to raise themselves to some degree of power which had been wisely denied them before. I shall agree with my nettled opponent, to calm him a little, that this Certain Set are intentionally at least enemies to Popery and arbitrary power too, except when they can grasp it themselves. He must needs make use of a personal invective against Dr. D——n, every article of which, except his having three sons in the Rebellion, which I doubt not was the misfortune of many an honest brother dissenter, is false, as the Dr. himself will at a proper time make appear.

Nay, so stupidly malicious is this false accuser, that several of his accusations, viz., his absolving, etc., are of that nature that thousands now living can of their own knowledge declare the contrary.

8. From the *Chester Courant*, 26th April, 1748.

Written under the name of Thomas Deacon at Manchester on 18th April. The letter begins by referring to the attack made upon him by Owen in the Supplement to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1746, and to the statement made in the *Chester Courant*, that the "Dr. will at a proper time make appear" the falsity of the accusations against him. It proceeds to say that Owen of Rochdale has acknowledged in his pamphlet, "Jacobite and Non-juring Principles," etc., that he was the author of the above mentioned letter in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Deacon's vindication may now be quoted at some length.

"I do therefore think this the proper time to perform my friend's promise and to make the falsity of the above personal invective appear : which I consider will be best done by answering it, article by article."

1. "Who absolved Justice Hall and Parson Paul at the gallows after the Rebellion in the year '15." A clear and peremptory denial of a charge unsupported by proof must always be deemed a proper and sufficient answer : but in this case I can not only positively affirm that I did not officiate with those unfortunate gentlemen in their dying moments : but also inform the public that the clergyman who did was the Rev. Mr. Francis Peck, M.A., formerly of Trinity College, in Cambridge. Nay I can venture further to assert that neither he nor any other person did then and there absolve them.

2. "Who declared publicly at Tyburn that the fact for which they dy'd was meritorious." This I affirm to be as false as the foregoing article : I declared no

such thing to them at Tyburn, either publicly or privately.

3. "Who in consequence thereof had warrants issued out against him from the Secretary of State's office." This conclusion must necessarily be as false as the facts upon which it is founded, and this is the first time that I ever heard of any warrant from the Secretary of State's office being issued out against me in my whole life. It is impossible for me to prove a negative in this case; but I challenge the writer to produce his authority for the truth of this assertion.

4. "And thereupon was sent and supported by the contributions of the party to study physic in Holland." Every part of this branch of the accusation is false. In the first place, I could not possibly go abroad, for reasons which I have already shown never subsisted: and in the next place, I do solemnly declare that I was neither sent abroad by any party nor supported there by any contributions. On the contrary, to the confusion of this slanderer, I stayed in London and appeared publicly there every day for above three months after the execution of the Rev. Mr. Paul and John Hall, Esq.: and when I went into Holland it was not at all upon the account of my behaviour with regard to them, which I never yet heard the Government was displeased with, but upon a quite different occasion. When I resided there, I lived upon my own fortune: and so far was I from studying physic that I had not at the time the least intention of engaging in that profession; but entered upon it and prosecuted it afterwards in London under the particular direction and with the kind assistance of my best of friends, the very worthy and learned Dr. Mead.

5. "Since which he returned to England and has lived unmolested at M——ster." If the having my house searched for papers by military violence under cover of a warrant signed by two Justices of the Peace, who it

is very well known have no authority to issue warrants in such cases; if its being attacked more than once by a furious mob and unrestrained soldiery; if the living for some time under constant apprehension of its being pulled down to the ground and the being compelled to remove my children out of their beds to prevent their being buried under its ruins; I say if this be "living unmolested," then this writer has for once spoken truth; but if being used in this arbitrary and tyrannical manner could not but be attended by some "molestation," then he is guilty of falsehood in this as in all the preceding articles.

6. "Who had three sons in the late Rebellion." As this concerns not me directly, I shall say nothing to it, but leave it to the judgment of every candid reader.

7. "And declared to a gentleman of distinction that he should have thought himself obliged to join in it only that he had a dispensation to excuse him." This is a charge of such a kind that I can only answer it by sincerely affirming that I neither had any such "dispensation" nor made any such "declaration," and therefore I must look upon it if not as a forgery of this writer's yet at least as a misapprehension of his friend the "gentleman of distinction," and I shall leave the world to judge whether, if I had taken such a dangerous step as to obtain a dispensation of this nature, it is at all probable that I should have enhanced the danger by revealing it to a person who was likely to "distinguish" himself by publishing it to my disadvantage. But it is time to come to the concluding articles.

8. "And who while the rebels were at Manchester had the very distinguishing honour paid him of being escorted to the Pretender's lodgings by a file of musketeers." Had this very distinguishing honour, as he terms it, been paid to me, I fancy I should only have enjoyed it in common with several persons of unquestioned attachment to the present Government, but to

make this narrative regular and uniform, this too is false, for I was not escorted by any musketeer or musketeers whatever.

I thought that I was obliged no longer to delay the doing this justice to myself; especially as I found that the silence, which for prudential reasons, I had hitherto observed on this head, had been by some represented as an acknowledgment of the truth of what I had been accused of. And I shall leave the world to judge what credit for the future will be due to a writer who could either be so base and shameless to assert things which he knew to be false, or (to suppose the best) so monstrously weak and credulous, as confidently to relate for undoubted facts what the least enquiry would have shown him to have been entirely groundless."

9. From Owen's "*Dr. Deacon Try'd by his own Tribunal.*"

The person you say who officiated with Paul and Hall in their dying moments was the Rev. Mr. Francis Peck. To convict you without further ceremony, let us hear what Mr. Lorrain says, then Ordinary of Newgate. He expressly declares that your two unfortunate gentlemen desired a non-juring priest to pray with them at Tyburn, which was granted. He prayed with them a considerable time and then made off. Afterwards, he says, I offered to pray with them, but they were not very desirous I should, neither would they kneel at my prayers as they did at the non-juring minister's; upon which I told them that since they were unwilling to kneel down with me I would stay till they were tied up, which I did, and then prayed. Now sir, by your second rule, that of credible evidence, you stand here self condemned and convicted; convicted of downright forgery or falsehood in saying that it was Mr. Francis Peck (whereas from Mr. Lorrain's account

it was he himself) that officiated with them in their dying moments. When they were removed out of the sledge at Tyburn and give me leave seriously to ask were not you in the sledge with them—I call upon you—I challenge you to answer this. They desired they might have a priest of their own stamp to attend them. Accordingly, says the aforesaid Mr. Lorrain, “Such a minister whoever he was, or wherever he came from, I know not, stepped into the cart and prayed by them a considerable time and then made off.” That one educated a few years before both at Westminster School and at Cambridge should be such a son of obscurity that amongst thousands of spectators Mr. Lorrain could learn from nobody who he was, or whence he came from, murders all credibility. How much more exactly doth this account quadrate with the character of Thomas Deacon, Priest. Accordingly let me ask you did not you travel in the sledge with Hall and Paul through Holbourn? Were not you as you went along saluted with the hisses and insults of the crowd, and did you not meet with a very different reception from your good friend, brother, and fellow-labourer, Dr. Sacheverell, as you passed by him in Holbourn? Did he not greet you with a very reverend bow and most respectful salutation? This account I have received. Your own bare word is the only evidence that we have at present that Dr. Mead was your tutor in physical science. Some persons have a peculiar talent of being extremely intimate with their superiors whom they never saw, of being their very good friends, although they never knew them. The truth is if I am rightly instructed, somebody interceded in your favour with Dr. Mead, represented you as a person that entertained some odd chimerical notions that would obstruct your advancement in the other liberal professions, and therefore inclined to devote yourself to physic. Dr. Mead’s great humanity was easily prevailed on to procure you admission for a short

time to one of the hospitals to attend the practice there and afterwards to give you some slight recommendation, which I am told was the case in fact. The recommendatory letter was to Manchester. Either in 1719 or 1720 it is certain you practised physic in Manchester.

The 18th of May last I spent an evening at Daventry in Northamptonshire with an Officer of the King's Army who had frequently visited one of your sons taken prisoner at Carlisle, and who afterwards dy'd at Kendal. In the course of conversation the officer declared that your son had often told him and many others who had visited him in his illness that it was absolutely against his inclination that he went into the Rebellion, but that he had just reason to be apprehensive that you, You Sir, his father would have turned him out of doors if he had refused; that he would never have engaged in it upon any other consideration.

APPENDIX C.

A Brief Synopsis of Letters Written by Deacon and Quoted in this Work.

It may be noted that all the letters are written from Manchester.

1. To John Byrom in London, 6th December, 1726.
See page 71.
2. To John Byrom in London, 21st December, 1726.
See page 72.

Both these letters are concerned with the dispute between Bishop Peploe and the Chapter of the Collegiate Church of Manchester with regard to the appointment of the Rev. Richard Assheton as Chaplain.

3. To John Byrom in London, 24th June, 1727. See page 84.

In this letter Deacon announces his intention of removing from Manchester to take up the practice of the late Dr. Cole at Stepney.

4. To John Byrom in London, February 21st, 1730. See page 166.
5. To John Byrom in London, April 21st, 1731. See page 168.
6. To John Byrom in London, April 27th, 1731. See page 169.

I have said elsewhere that Deacon is seen at his very best in these three letters, and the standard attained is certainly high. All the letters are concerned with the projected publication of the Translation of Tillemont's "History of the first six centuries."

7. To John Byrom in London, 24th May, 1737. See page 67.

This is concerned with the publication of Byrom's system of Shorthand. The humour associated with Byrom's title of 'Grand Master' is well sustained.

8. A letter to Dr. Deacon's Presbyters in London, 20th July, 1744. See page 101.

This was written on the occasion of Deacon assuming the oversight of the 'Orthodox Church' in London, formerly under the care of Archibald Campbell.

9. A letter to Mr. Pierce on his desertion from Dr. Deacon's communion, April 27th, 1750. See page 139.

This is interesting as the last known writing of Deacon and as indicating that the uncompromising attitude to the 'Revolution' Church of England adopted in the speeches of Hall and Paul in 1716 was maintained by Deacon to the end.

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